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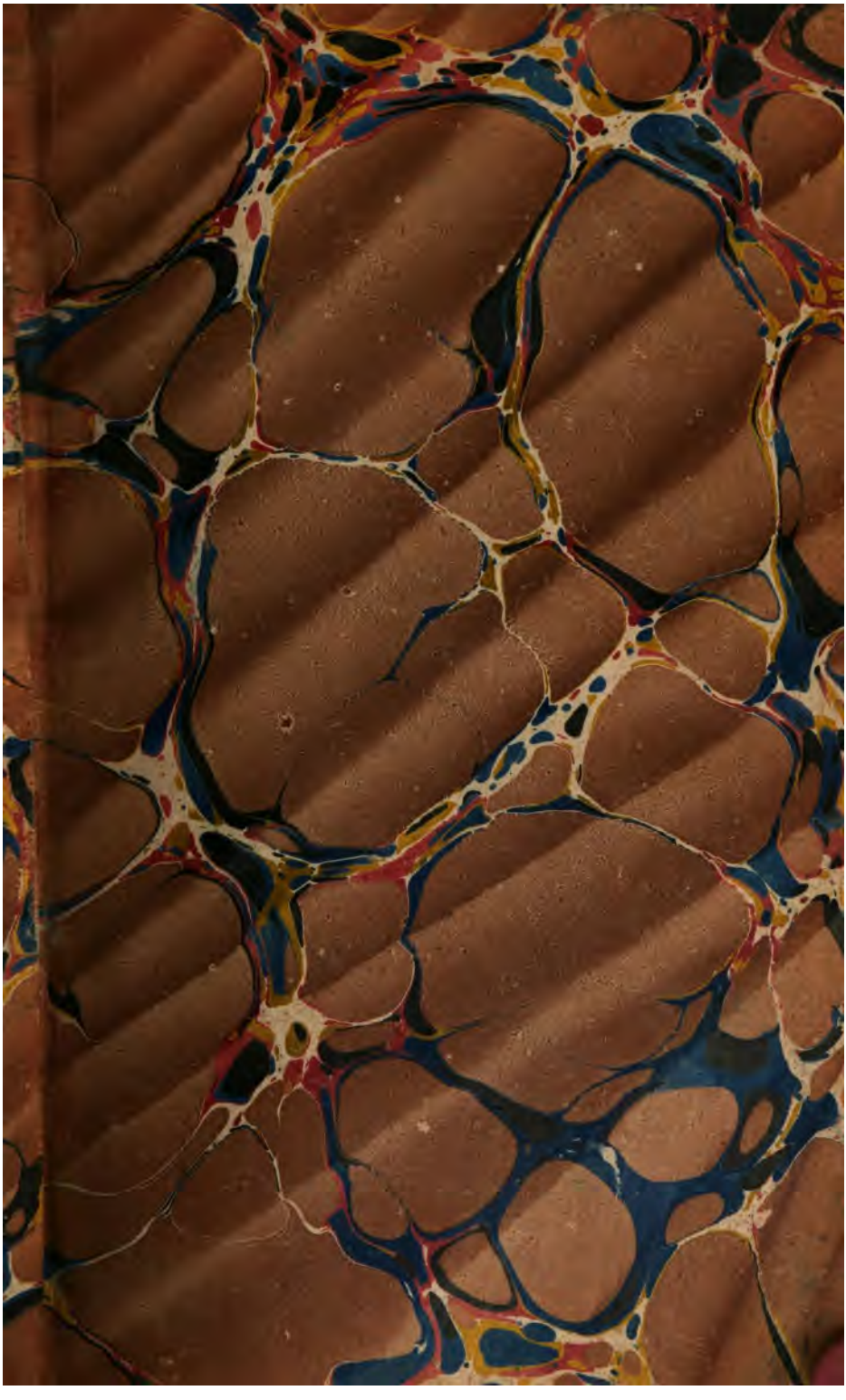

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SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

SYLVESTER DOUGLAS,

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

TUESDAY, APRIL THE 23D, 1799,

ON SECONDING THE MOTION OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, FOR THE HOUSE TO AGREE WITH THE LORDS IN AN ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY,

RELATIVE TO

A UNION WITH IRELAND.

'There hath been put in practice in governments, these two several 'kinds of policy in uniting and conjoining of states and kingdoms; the 'one, to retain the ancient form still severed, and only conjoined in 'sovereignty; the other, to superinduce a new form, agreeable and 'convenient to the entire estate. The former of these hath been 'more usual, but the latter is more happy.'

LORD BACON.

DUBLIN:

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1799.

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SPEECH,

&c. &c.

MR. SPEAKER,

I TOOK occasion, on a former day[a], to express my humble hope, that if a regular opportunity should again occur, the House would permit me to lay before them some thoughts on this great subject, which have appeared to me worthy of their attention; and to explain some of the grounds on which my opinion has been formed in favour of a Union with Ireland.

Nobody to whom I am known, will, I am persuaded, impute to me the presumptuous folly of imagining that I have it in my power to improve on what those men of transcendent talents and eminent political wisdom and experience, who have taken the principal share in the former debates, have advanced on the leading points of this question. But it is a question of such extent, that it may fairly be thought that even yet several important topics remain for consideration, and some new views of those which have been already discussed. It has been for a considerable length of time before the public in both

[a] On Thursday, February 14, after reporting the resolutions.

 kingdoms:

kingdoms; it has given riſe to various arguments in both Houſes of this and the other Parliament: and, upon every freſh occaſion, additional lights have been thrown upon it, and new difficulties and objections have been raiſed, by the fertility and eagerneſs of conteſt and oppoſition.

Some of thoſe objections may have ſeemed plauſible or ingenious; ſcarcely any, I think, have been weighty or ſubſtantial; none, I am ſure, of ſufficient weight to counterbalance the numerous benefits which there is ſuch reaſon to expect from the adoption of the meaſure. But they have been frequently ſuited to meet thoſe paſſions and prejudices, which naturally exiſt, or have been artfully excited, in our ſiſter kingdom; and, if we feel it our duty to recommend the propoſed incorporation to our fellow-ſubjects there, we owe it to them and to ourſelves to ſpare no pains in the endeavour to remove, by diſpaſſionate reaſoning and cool deliberation, ſuch obſtacles as may have appeared to them, or any number of them, to ſtand in the way of what moſt of us here, I believe, conſider as *material* for our intereſts and *eſſential* to theirs.

To thoſe who have attended to the various modes of reſiſtance to the propoſal of an Union, which have been reſorted to by different perſons, *two* circumſtances muſt have occurred as very remarkable.

One has been ſo well expreſſed in the reſolutions of the Grand Jury of the county of the city of Cork, that I ſhould do it injuſtice not to introduce the mention of it in the very language they have uſed: 'Whilſt we la-'ment,' ſay they, 'that any difference of opinion ſhould 'exiſt in this kingdom upon ſo important a queſtion, we 'cannot but remember how unanimous the rebellious and 'traitorous

'traitorous enemies of the country are in their reproba-
'tion of the measure[a].'

The plan of the United Irishmen, with the assistance of the inveterate foe of the British empire and constitution, is to effect a separation between Great Britain and Ireland. It is natural therefore that they should dread nothing so much as any measure which *they* must look upon as fatal to that favourite object. That separation is their favourite object we have many incontestable proofs; but it is sufficient for me now to refer to the declaration of their founder, Tone, subjoined to the Report of the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Lords in 1797[b]; and the detestation of a Union, which on that account the same class of men have always expressed, is equally notorious. The furious declamations of *M'Nevin*, *Lewins*, and others[c], have been more than once referred to in this place[d]; and within not many weeks from the present moment, some of those self-convicted traitors have contrived to publish to the world new libels on the government and constitution of their country[e], their main view in which has manifestly been to co-operate, to this particular end, with those who, though of a very different description, and acting undoubtedly from motives of mistaken patriotism, have exerted their talents and influence to counteract and retard what I am well persuaded the good sense of

[a] Vide the resolutions of the Grand Jury of the county of the city of Cork, 26th March 1799.

[b] No. II.

[c] Proceedings of the meeting at Francis Street Chapel, 1795.

[d] Vide Speech of the Right Hon. *Henry Addington*, p. 21, &c. &c.

[e] *Arthur O'Connor's* Letter to *Lord Castlereagh*.—Demonstration, &c. Ascribed to *Dr. M'Nevin*.

 that

that nation will not ſuffer them ultimately to defeat, that happy conſolidation of the empire which his Majeſty's paternal goodneſs has recommended to the conſideration of both his Parliaments.

The *other* circumſtance to which I have referred appears to me not leſs ſtriking. It is, that the oppoſers of Union have almoſt all endeavoured to convince us that the caſe of the incorporation of Scotland and England in 1707, is not in any degree applicable on the preſent occaſion.

I think there is conſiderable dexterity, though perhaps not a great deal of candour, in this attempt. In all great political operations, experience and hiſtorical precedent are the beſt and ſafeſt guides. Thoſe gentlemen have, therefore, juſtly thought they ſhould have a better chance of gaining their end, if they could induce us to ſhut our eyes againſt hiſtory, and wander with them in the obſcure mazes of theory and ſpeculation. Their ingenuity might then perhaps bewilder and perplex us; whereas, if we recur to that memorable event, its ſimilarity to what is now propoſed, both in principle and in all its moſt characteriſtic features, is ſo great, that they naturally feel it furniſhes, by its complete ſucceſs, after the trial of a century, the ſtrongeſt and moſt irreſiſtible refutation of their arguments.

In the firſt and preliminary point, for inſtance, of the queſtion of Union, that tranſaction is moſt eſpecially applicable, being the direct caſe of a national deciſion on the right

right and competency of Parliament. I will not enter at large into the general argument concerning the extraordinary powers of the ſupreme legiſlature of a country. It has been amply and ably treated in ſeveral of the prior ſtages of the preſent buſineſs, in this Houſe. If the Parliament, in our repreſentative government, is not competent to treat of, and conclude an incorporated Union, there is no authority which is; and, conſequently, a legitimate Union, in ſuch governments, never could take place.

The conſtituent body, or the electors, have no ſuch authority; they have not, by the practice or true theory of our conſtitution, any power of deliberation on any queſtion whatever; their only buſineſs as electors being that of ſelecting and nominating thoſe whom they think the fitteſt perſons to exerciſe that ſhare of legiſlation which is veſted in the third eſtate of Parliament; the act of the election is the beginning and end of their functions; the latent political rights of the people at large, whatever they may be, have not been delegated to *them*; and thoſe gentlemen, on the other ſide, who are the moſt ſtrenuous advocates againſt a Union, would, I ſhould think, be very unwilling to devolve that authority which is denied to the elected, on the elective body, as now conſtituted; ſince, in their opinion, they ought to be deprived of the very elective franchiſe itſelf, by what they call a *reform of Parliament*; the ſcheme of ſuch reform being, in many inſtances literally, and virtually in all, to deprive the preſent electors of that franchiſe.

But if the electors cannot deliberate and decide on ſuch a meaſure, much leſs can the people at large; who never, I believe, in the ſmalleſt ſtate, or moſt complete democracy, have

have exerciſed, in fact, by univerſal individual ſuffrage, deliberate, judicial, or legiſlative authority. Yet to maintain that the conſtitutional legiſlature of a country has not the right of doing certain acts, however clearly beneficial to that country, without a previous ſpecial commiſſion from the maſs of the nation, leads immediately to the falſe and miſchievous principle of the *direct ſovereignty of the people*, and to that equally miſchievous fiction to which it has given riſe, *viz.* That an *original compact* between the governors and governed is the only lawful foundation of government. Indeed, to reſort to the elementary parts of a nation, the numerical aggregate of individuals compoſing it, for authority to form a union, would be a complete admiſſion of ſuch ſovereignty; as the terms and conditions with which this numerical maſs might chooſe to accompany that delegation of power, would be an exemplification of ſuch original compact. But what ſort of philoſophy is that which traces the foundation of all political phenomena to a fact which no hiſtory ſhews ever to have exiſted, which the conſideration of the human character and the daily tranſactions, and paſt and preſent ſituations of life, demonſtrate to be, and always to have been impoſſible, and every attempt to realize which either by the *Jacquerie* in ancient France, the *Wat Tylers* and *Jack Straws* in England, or the modern Jacobines, has proved as pernicious and deſtructive[a], as to

[a] It has been unfortunate for the world, that ſo great and upright a man as Mr. *Locke* (led aſtray by the circumſtances of the times in which he lived, and the zeal of controverſy) ſhould have been the patron and advocate of this baneful, but, in his hands, too plauſible and ſpecious doctrine. *Locke*'s fate has indeed been ſingular. He was a good ſubject and a pious

to ſuppoſe the poſſibility of its actual exiſtence, is fooliſh and abſurd. The fatal conſequences of ſuch attempts to *reſtore*, as it is called, to the people the ſovereignty they are imagined to have farmed out, as it were, to their rulers, ſubject to divers claims of forfeiture and re-entry, has indeed been too well illuſtrated by the late eventful hiſtory of a neighbouring kingdom, for us here, or our fellow-ſubjects in Ireland, to require much argument to convince us

a pious Chriſtian. Yet, as his theory of government has ſerved for a baſis to the deſtructive ſyſtems of the *Condorcets*, *Prieſtleys*, and *Paynes*, ſo his metaphyſical principles have become the groundwork of the vain wiſdom and falſe philoſophy which began by denying the exiſtence of the material world, and proceeded, in the writings of the late Mr. *Hume* and others, to extend that wild ſcepticiſm of an ingenious and well-intentioned Prelate* to the diſbelief of ſpirit alſo, of the immortal nature of man, and the being of God himſelf. This remark has been, in a great meaſure, occaſioned by my recollection of a truly great philoſopher, to whoſe early leſſons and kindneſs I look back with tenderneſs and pride, who was among the firſt to prove that ſyſtem adopted by *Locke* concerning ideas, tended, by its natural conſequence, to thoſe of *Berkeley* and *Hume*; but who, in announcing that opinion to the world, anxiouſly diſclaimed every wiſh or intention to diſparage the talents of thoſe, the fallacy and danger of whoſe doctrines he thought he could demonſtrate, and every view of arrogating to himſelf any peculiar ſagacity and diſcernment on that account. Indeed thoſe who remember him, know that there never was learning and wiſdom more free from arrogance and preſumption than his. 'A traveller,' ſays he, 'of good judgment may miſtake his way, and be 'led unawares into a wrong track; and while the road is fair before him, 'may go on without ſuſpicion, and be followed by others; but when it 'ends in a precipice, it requires no peculiar degree of wiſdom and pene-'tration to know he has gone wrong, nor perhaps to find out what miſ-'led him†.'

* Biſhop *Berkeley*.

† Dr. *Reid*'s Enquiry into the Human Mind, p. 23.

of

of its folly and wickedneſs. It has in that country overturned the throne of the Monarch and the altars of God: it has ſanctioned murder, parricide, and regicide; and has taught every illiterate peaſant to conſider himſelf as a fit candidate for ſupreme power, the ſovereign of his ſovereign, and the lawgiver of mankind—

Ergo, regibus occiſis, ſubverſa jacebat
Priſtina majeſtas ſoliorum et ſceptra ſuperba,
Res itaque ad ſummam faecem turbaſque redibat[a].

I agree with a perſon juſtly eminent, and for whom I entertain a very ſincere reſpect, when he ſays, 'that it is dangerous in a popular aſſembly to ſtate that there are points 'where the powers of the legiſlature end, and thoſe of the 'people at large begin[b].' Indeed I know of no point where a legitimate conſtitutional power in the people at large begins; there may be ſome very ſpecial caſes to which that of the legiſlature cannot reach; and in which, according to my conception, when any meaſure becomes neceſſary and unavoidable, not the power, i. e. any *rightful* power of the people, but the diſſolution of the conſtitution and government, will begin; from which anarchy it muſt be left, in ſuch caſes, to chance, to the circumſtances of the times, the force of habit, the intrinſic merit of ancient inſtitutions, and the prudence and virtue of individuals poſſeſſing influence, either perſonal or from ſituation, to extricate the na-

[a] Lucret. lib. v. ver. 1135.

[b] Vide the Speech of the Right Hon. *John Foſter*, p. 108. I had not then received the correct edition, but I had ſeen ſeveral accounts of it in different newſpapers. I ſhall take the liberty now to refer to it according to that correct edition in ſome of the following pages.

tion.

tion. It is indeed delicate and dangerous wantonly to moot ſuch ſort of caſes: no judge of human nature who is a friend to his country, ever will; whatever may be his particular creed and party on matters fairly debateable, and open to a ſafe difference in opinion.

There are however caſes of another deſcription, which may be more freely diſcuſſed, to which alſo the ſupreme power of the Legiſlature (in our conſtitution, of the Parliament) cannot extend; but which, being of a negative kind, and not requiring any meaſure to be taken or act done, do not connect themſelves with the notion of any neceſſary diſſolution of the frame of the government. They are, in truth, of ſuch a ſort, that, on their correct analyſis, it will be found, that the idea of the application of that power involves either phyſical or moral impoſſibility, or a natural contradiction in the terms of the propoſition.

Two examples, material for the preſent purpoſe, eſpecially the laſt of them, will illuſtrate the diſtinction to which I have wiſhed to draw the attention of the Houſe.

1ſt. Parliament cannot paſs a law which a ſubſequent Parliament ſhall not be able to repeal. The plain reaſon of this is, that the ſuppoſition of ſuch a power is contradictory to itſelf. It is to ſuppoſe the Parliament of next year leſs abſolute and ſupreme than the Parliament of this[b].

2d. I have heard it contended, not without plauſibility, that the Parliament cannot diſmember the kingdom or

[b] *Coke's* Inſt. part iv. p. 42, 43.

circumſcribe the ſphere of its own authority, and conſequently that on that account it cannot, diſſolve any union which by treaty or otherwiſe hath blended into one ſtate, ſubject to its authority, parts which exiſted, previous to ſuch treaty, in a ſeparate and diſtinct condition, with ſeparate legiſlatures; that to ſuppoſe it capable of doing this is alſo a contradiction in terms; that the nation and its Parliament are ſuch indiviſible integral parts, the one governed, the other governing, and forming together one indiviſible aggregate or body politic; that if you detach any part of this body, what remains is no longer the ſame ſtate, the ſame nation, the ſame legiſlature or parliament; that the two parts may form themſelves again each or either into a ſimilar conſtitution to what before exiſted, or into other conſtitutions; but that the diſmemberment will have effected that ſort of reſolution of the aggregate into its elements, which is known to happen in our municipal law, when, by the loſs of an integral part, an ordinary corporation is diſſolved, and loſes its corporate exiſtence; that it is univerſally true, that the diſmemberment of any legitimate ſtate cannot be a legitimate act of that ſtate; but neceſſarily ſuppoſes, even on ceſſions in virtue of conqueſt, exchange, &c. a diſruption of the integrity of the ſtate; that it might be difficult to argue this poſition on the hiſtory of thoſe ill-conſtructed conſtitutions, where diſmemberment has in fact often taken place, or with regard to extreme caſes, of the ceſſion of ſmall inſignificant portions of a large dominion; but that nobody will ſay that the actual ſtate and conſtitution of Great Britain would remain if the county of Northumberland or Cornwall, the ancient kingdom of Scotland, or the principality of Wales, were detached from it.

But,

But, in the caſe of a union and incorporation of new parts, the incompetency of parliament to decompoſe them is, I think, abundantly obvious, without adopting the foregoing opinion to its full extent, which I by no means do, with regard to the diſmemberment of ſome original fraction, or diſtrict, of what had always conſtituted one and the ſame ſtate. The eſſential condition of ſuch a union is the combination of each of the conſtituent parts into a new whole, in which the identical characters and qualities of thoſe parts are ſo loſt that they can no where afterwards be found or reſtored. The contracting parties ceaſe to exiſt, and become incapable of being revived. It is as impoſſible to replace them *in ſtatu quo*, as it would be to recover the identical parts of two images of the ſame metal, which may have been melted together, and caſt into one new figure made up of both. Phyſically, or even morally and politically ſpeaking, Scotland, as a country, might be again diſjoined from England: it might again have Parliaments, as England might have; but this muſt be by a proceſs exactly the ſame with that which ſhould ſeparate Cornwall, Norfolk, Caithneſs, or Sutherland, from Great Britain. It would not be a redintegration or reſtoration of Scotland to her former ſtate, as ſhe exiſted before 1707: that ſtate has been melted down and indiſſolubly mingled with that of England, which, in like manner, can never become a ſeparate kingdom, as of its ancient right.

If this reaſoning is as juſt and correct as it appears to me, all apprehenſions and alarms muſt neceſſarily vaniſh (alarms ſometimes attempted to be raiſed when it has been thought they might aſſiſt a little dearth of argument), of Great Britain aſſuming a right to break through, and ſet

aſide, at her pleaſure, any incorporation of this kingdom and that of Ireland, which the wiſdom and patriotiſm of the two Parliaments may adopt. After a Union, Ireland may again be ſeparated from Great Britain, as England may be torn aſunder from Scotland, by domeſtic faction and civil war, or by foreign hoſtility; but they never can be disjoined by any regular act of the united Government and Legiſlature.

In ſhort, it appears to me that a common Parliament, ſuch as was formed on the Scotch Union, and muſt be in contemplation now, muſt have the power of altering or repealing any of the former acts of either of the local Legiſlatures, i. e. either Engliſh or Scotch, Britiſh or Iriſh, a power daily exerciſed in regard to Engliſh and Scotch acts made previous to 1707; but that ſuch common Parliament cannot legitimately repeal or alter any of the fundamental and eſſential clauſes, articles, or conditions of that treaty, by which the Union ſhall be conſtituted; ſince the treaty authorized by each Legiſlature, concluded by commiſſioners, and then again ratified by each Legiſlature, when carried into effect, will render it impoſſible, upon any breach, for either party to reſume its former ſituation, and avail itſelf of the nullity thereby occaſioned, and of courſe impoſſible, conſiſtently with moral right and duty, for the united Parliament, i. e. beyond its legitimate powers, to commit ſuch a breach.

Before I proceed, the Houſe will permit me to explain what may otherwiſe be liable to miſrepreſentation or miſconſtruction. Though I have denied the ſtrict right of the conſtituent body to deliberate and decide on political queſtions,

tions, and either to limit or extend, by ſpecial commiſſion and inſtructions, the powers veſted by law in their repreſentatives, yet I am very clearly of opinion, that the repreſentatives does not perform his duty, or conſult the true intereſt of his country, who does not pay a due and reſpectful attention to the ſentiments, and even, in many caſes, to the inclinations and wiſhes of his particular conſtituents and of the proprietors and inhabitants of the place he repreſents (with whom he commonly has the eaſieſt means of communication), as well as to the opinions which prevail in general among the different claſſes of his fellow-ſubjects. It is very true that there neither exiſts, nor can exiſt, any legal or formal method of collecting the individual opinions and ſuffrages of a whole nation; ſtill, however, the predominant ſentiment will force its way to the obſervation and underſtanding of the legiſlators, and will be in many, perhaps in moſt caſes, the beſt and moſt prudent guide for them to follow. If they neglect it, the period of re-election enables the voters (the majority of whom, even as now conſtituted in this kingdom, taking the whole country over, will, I believe, always be found to accord with the majority of the nation itſelf) to ſelect others who think more as they do on thoſe ſubjects of public concern which they have neareſt their hearts.

After all, ſome may think I might have ſpared the Houſe and myſelf the trouble of the foregoing diſcuſſion, as few, very few, within theſe walls have gone ſo far as directly to maintain the general incompetence of Parliament to ſuch a meaſure as a Union. But ſeveral, by expreſſions of doubt and ſurmiſe, by ambiguous words, ſcattered abroad at the riſk of miſleading the vulgar, the ill-informed, or ill-diſpoſed, among his Majeſty's ſubjects in Ireland, have ſet out

out with involving their opinion on this material point in oracular obſcurity, and have then gone on to aſſert, that whatever may have been the right of the Engliſh or of the Scotch Parliament in 1707, a Union between Great Britain and Ireland, or, at leaſt, ſuch a Union as is ſuppoſed to be intended, cannot be lawfully agreed to or carried into effect by either of the Parliaments of thoſe reſpective kingdoms. They aſſume, as the caſe I think muſt be, that in the midſt of thoſe who have propoſed, or are friends to the meaſure, the proportion of members to be ſent by Ireland to the united Parliament is meant to be conſiderably leſs than the number of Britiſh members; which, if the example of the Scotch Union ſhall be followed in this particular, will remain as at preſent. 'This,' it is ſaid, 'would, in 'effect, amount to a total *ſurrender* of the legiſlative au- 'thority of Ireland to Great Britain. But the conſtitu- 'ents of the Iriſh Parliament delegated to their repreſen- 'tatives the power with which they inveſted them, for the 'purpoſe of exerciſing, not of ſurrendering, thoſe powers, 'for the purpoſe of maintaining a ſupreme, independent, 'and excluſive Legiſlature for Ireland, not to enable them 'to betray and deſtroy the independency, or rather the 'exiſtence, of the Iriſh Legiſlature. This,' it is alledged, 'muſt be the caſe, if the members for Ireland are in a 'great diſproportion to thoſe for Great Britain. Though 'the Britiſh Parliament, therefore, ſhould be ſuppoſed 'competent to *receive*, in acceſſion to its legiſlative autho- 'rity over Great Britain, the like power over Ireland, the 'Iriſh Parliament can have no right to *beſtow* that power 'and ſubject their country, in that manner, to the govern- 'ment of a foreign Legiſlature. The addition of one- 'ſixth, one-fifth, or one-fourth, to the preſent aggregate 'number of Britiſh members will leave the Britiſh Parlia-

'ment

'ment as excluſively ſupreme over Great Britain as before,
'and will, at the ſame time, communicate to Great Britain
'as entire a ſupremacy over Ireland as ſhe formerly claim-
'ed (before the epoch of 1782) when that country was
'totally unrepreſented in Great Britain.'

In ſtating this ſort of argument, which I have endeavour-ed not to weaken or miſrepreſent, the caſe of Scotland ſeemed to militate ſo ſtrongly both againſt the *concluſion* of incompetency, and the aſſumed *fact* from which that concluſion is drawn, namely, the exerciſe of excluſive power by the greater over the leſſer country, that every effort of ingenuity has been uſed, though unſucceſsfully, to find out ſome intelligible ground of diſtinction between that tranſaction and the meaſure now in agitation.

1ſt. With regard to *the fact*. It is a matter of ſuch acknowledged notoriety, that in queſtions of a local nature, or which nearly concern the northern diviſion of this united kingdom, the members returned by Scotland have generally influenced the opinion and vote of the whole Houſe of Commons, that the Gentlemen on the other ſide have not been able to deny it. They have, therefore, been obliged to content themſelves with the hope that this, like other circumſtances relative to the Scotch Union, may be aſcribed to ſomething of a myſterious and undefinable nature, peculiar to the character and ſituation of that people; and they inſiſt, that whatever may have in practice counteracted the natural conſequence of the ſuperiority of numbers in that caſe, it is not leſs certain that the whole legiſlative authority over Scotland is veſted in the Engliſh members, than that 513 is a larger number than 45.

2d. As

2d. As to *the concluſion*, they argue, that if the ſurrender (as they inſiſt on terming it) which was made by the Scotch Parliament have not vitiated the whole tranſaction, it is either becauſe the lapſe of time and long acquieſcence on the part of that country have, by a ſort of preſcription, confirmed the authority of the Parliament now denominated Britiſh, but ſtill, in effect, only Engliſh, over Scotland; or becauſe the Scotch Parliament was expreſsly empowered and commiſſioned by the conſtituents in that kingdom to agree to a Union.

In anſwer to theſe refinements it may be obſerved,

1ſt. That it is a new ſort of preſcription which can confirm or render valid, what, in its commencement, was a mere nullity; eſpecially where the acts by which this nullity has been turned into a right, muſt, if the argument is well founded, have been throughout equally null and void. If the Scotch Parliament could not, in 1707, legally ratify the Treaty of Union, the act by which they purported to do ſo was void, and the royal aſſent, which was given to that act, having nothing on which it could operate, was void alſo; as much ſo as it would have been if given to an act by which the Parliament had attempted to legiſlate for France or Italy. But the ratification of the treaty by the Scotch Parliament was the eſſential condition on which that of England ratified it. If therefore, the act of the Scotch Parliament was a nullity, ſo alſo muſt have been that which was only paſſed on the faith of its ſuppoſed validity. The one was the conſideration for the other; and if England could receive nothing, neither could ſhe mean to give, nor could give any thing; and the whole buſineſs reſembled, on her part, what the lawyers call a *nudum pactum*.

Thus

Thus this doctrine neceſſarily leads to the inference, that the preſent Legiſlature of this country has no legitimate authority; that the powers it exerciſes are mere uſurpation; and that no man, either in Scotland or England, is bound to ſubmit to any of the laws which have been enacted for near a century.

2d. When, perceiving that this argument of acquieſcence fails by leading to ſuch a dangerous abſurdity, Gentlemen reſort to ſome ſuppoſed ſpecial delegation from the people or conſtituent body to the Parliament of Scotland, it will be recollected, as I have already ſhewn, that the electors *could not*, by the conſtitution—in this reſpect the ſame in that kingdom as in England—make any ſuch delegation, ſo as to give it any force or validity; nor grant to the elected any peculiar powers, not incident to the mere character of repreſentatives duly choſen. I will now prove, that in 1707 no ſuch delegation *was in fact* attempted in Scotland.

There is undoubtedly a paſſage or two in *De Foe's* Hiſtory of the Union, which ſeem to indicate ſomething ſpecial in the appointment of the members of the Parliament of Scotland, which concluded that Treaty;* and a ſuppoſed ſpecific authority, in that inſtance, though very little taken notice of in this Houſe, has been much relied on in ſeveral ſpeeches, and in various pamphlets, in the ſiſter kingdom. This circumſtance induced me to beſtow ſome pains in the inveſtigation of the matter, the reſult of which has been, as I was well perſuaded it would be, what I have juſt aſſerted, that no ſuch authority was

* *Stockdale's* Edit. p. 230, 289.

in contemplation, much leſs required or conferred, at the time of electing that Parliament.

Indeed it would have been very extraordinary if the caſe had turned out otherwiſe, no hiſtorian of that period, or who has written ſince, having ever mentioned or alluded to ſuch a fact, if we except thoſe ſhort and obſcure paſſages in *De Foe* to which I have referred.

Nay, farther, in the ſeveral treaties preceding that which ſo happily accompliſhed the object, from the acceſſion of James the Sixth of Scotland to the crown of England downwards, no idea of the neceſſity, expediency, or, I may ſay, conſtitutionally ſpeaking, of the poſſibility of ſuch a reference to, and the delegation from the freeholders and burgeſſes,—forming themſelves, as they muſt have done, into what, in the modern French vocabulary, would be called *primary aſſemblies*,—ever ſeems to have been entertained by any projector, politician, lawyer, member of parliament, miniſter, or ſovereign whatever.

I will now, Sir, ſhortly ſtate what really happened in Scotland on the occaſion of the laſt and ſucceſsful treaty.

The Convention Parliament, or Eſtates, which had been aſſembled in that country on the abdication, or forfeiture, of James, and had met early in 1689, continued undiſſolved through all the reign of King William, and were ſummoned to meet by Queen Anne on the 9th of June 1702, a few months after her acceſſion. The anomalous formation of thoſe Eſtates is well known; and it will not be pretended, that any meaſure of Union between the two kingdoms was, at the time of their nomination,

mination, either agitated by the repreſented, or given in charge to their repreſentatives.

The ſixth Engliſh Parliament of King William, which had been called by the uſual proceſs (no ſpecial authority being pretended as to England,) was ſitting on Queen Anne's acceſſion; and on the 6th of May, 1702 [a] had paſſed an act, enabling the Queen to appoint commiſſioners for treating of an Union between England and Scotland.

As ſoon as the Scotch Parliament met after King William's death, this circumſtance was communicated to them in a letter from the Queen, and a ſimilar meaſure, on their part, recommended; and, in conſequence thereof, a like act was paſſed on the 23d of June 1702.[b]

Commiſſioners were accordingly appointed on the part of each kingdom, and met at Weſtminſter on the 27th of October 1702.

In the mean time the Scotch Parliament, or Convention, was prorogued (30th June,) and ſoon afterwards diſſolved, as was the Engliſh Parliament on the 2d of July 1702. But the commiſſions were not to determine by this diſſolution of the reſpective Parliaments, but to continue in force; and ſuch treaty as the commiſſioners might conclude was to be ratified by the ſubſequent Parliaments of each kingdom.

From the above deduction it is clear, that if thoſe commiſſioners had in fact proceeded to the concluſion of a treaty, no ſurmiſe could ever have been made, that

[a] 1 Anne, cap. 14.
[b] Scotch Acts 1ſt Parliament of Q. Anne, c. 7. p. 686.

on the part of Scotland any ſpecial mandate had ſerved as a foundation for the powers exerciſed on the occaſion.

A new Parliament was ſoon afterwards called, in the uſual way, in England, and met on the 20th of October 1702, a week previous to the meeting of the commiſſioners.

On the 8th of September a royal proclamation was publiſhed in Scotland, containing the following words:

'Whereas the late Parliament of that our ancient 'kingdom of Scotland is by our authority diſſolved, and 'conſidering that we are at preſent engaged in *a moſt 'juſt and neceſſary war*; and that by acts paſſed both in 'the Parliament of England and Scotland we are em-'powered, and have accordingly nominated *commiſſioners 'to treat of an Union* betwixt theſe our kingdoms, and 'of other things, matters and cauſes relating thereto, 'conform to the tenours of the ſaid acts, the concluſion 'of which Union to be eſtabliſhed and ratified in both 'Parliaments, will undoubtedly conduce to the laſting 'peace and welfare of both kingdoms; for which cauſes, 'and that we judge it neceſſary there ſhould be a Parlia-'ment in being to meet on ſuch occaſions as may require 'it, we have thought fit to call a Parliament of that our 'kingdom, to meet at our city of Edinburgh on the 12th 'of November next.'

This paſſage, in an inſtrument of which, after a good deal of reſearch, I have been furniſhed with a copy by the obliging attention of the gentleman who has the care of the public records at Edinburgh, is the only circumſtance and ſource to which I can trace the ſuppoſition of the alleged ſpecial authority of which I have been

been ſpeaking. I think it is no injuſtice to the Gentlemen who have pleaded that ſpecial authority, to ſuppoſe they had conceived it to reſt upon ſome more ſolid and tenable ground. Indeed I have not met with any evidence that they, or any writer or compiler, on the preſent occaſion, had taken the pains I have been prompted to do (in order to ſift every point of this great queſtion as thoroughly as I could,) with regard to the proceeding which may have given riſe to the paſſages I have referred to in *De Foe*. But it is no wonder, the ſort of argument there ſtated, is ſo looſely, generally, and ſhortly expreſſed, and that ſo little attention ſeems to have been paid to it at the time, or by that very hiſtorian—the only one, as I before obſerved, who has ever hinted at it. Was the mention made of the war, in the ſame proclamation, a ſpecial or neceſſary notice to the electors of Scotland to inſtruct their repreſentatives how they were to act in the enſuing Parliament, as to granting or refuſing ſupplies? If it had been all at once diſcovered, that all former Parliaments which had entertained the queſtion of Union, had exceeded the power and authority incident to their conſtitution, would there not have been ſome more ſolemn and ſpecific recital to that effect in the proclamation itſelf? Would that ſubject have been lumped, as it were, with ſo common and uſual a cauſe for holding a Parliament as the circumſtance of a war? Would not the proclamation have proceeded to give new and peculiar directions for the method of communicating to the electors, the notice, that they were to exerciſe a novel and extraordinary ſort of deliberation, and to communicate a new power to the elected, not neceſſarily veſted in them by the act of election and conſequent commiſſion, appointing them members of the Legiſlature? Would not the proceedings at the ſubſequent elections, the ſummons, the returns,

or,

as they were called, and were in fact in Scotland, the commiſſions of the perſons choſen, have contained ſome reference to the ſubject? Would not the minutes of the election meetings, whether of counties or burghs, which in that country are drawn up with ſo much form and preciſion, have recorded the eſpecial object and purpoſe for calling the Parliament, and the inſtructions on that account given by each body of conſtituents? Would there have been no trace of any thing of that ſort among the entries in the corporation books of Edinburgh, or of the other cities, towns, and boroughs of the kingdom? Would there not have been ſome tradition, ſome memorial, ſome narrative, or ſome hint of a formal, or at leaſt of ſome incidental alluſion to the ſubject of Union at ſome of the elections? Of ſome conteſt founded on the known or declared opinions of different candidates, for or againſt the meaſure? And, laſtly, would not the very act of the Scotch Parliament, which ratified the treaty, have recited the ſpecial power which alone warranted them in that act, and which their general character as a Parliament did not authorize?

Now, Sir, not one of thoſe circumſtances exiſts. The proclamation, the copy of which I hold in my hand, gives no particular direction as to the elections. The ſummonſes for election, the commiſſions, the minutes, the corporation books, bear no marks or ſigns of any thing ſpecial. Hiſtory, memoirs, tradition, are all ſilent; and you know, Sir, that the act of the Scotch Parliament is equally ſo.

It is hardly neceſſary to wind up the narrative I have been giving, by ſtating that the commiſſioners who met by virtue of the two acts of 1702, and of whom thoſe

for

for Scotland muſt have been the only perſons in the contemplation of the electors of the new Scotch Parliament, if thoſe electors had exerciſed any judgment, as ſuch, on the ſubject of the propoſed Union, never came to any concluſive treaty or agreement. Their meetings were finally adjourned on the 3d of February 1703.

The new Scotch Parliament did not meet till the 6th of May 1703. On the 9th of September 1703, they voted, that *the commiſſion of Parliament*, as they called it, was terminate and extinct; and that there ſhould be no new one without the conſent of Parliament.

In February 1704-5, the Engliſh Parliament paſſed a new act, empowering the Queen to appoint commiſſioners, when a ſimilar act ſhould have paſſed the Parliament of Scotland[a]. On the 5th of April 1705, that firſt Engliſh Parliament of Queen Anne was diſſolved, and the new one met on the 27th of October.

In the mean time, after a great deal of angry proceedings in the Parliament of Scotland, during their firſt and ſecond ſeſſion, in the third, which began on the 28th of June 1705, an act alſo paſſed, authorizing the Queen to appoint commiſſioners[b].

Under theſe two acts new commiſſions iſſued; that for Scotland on the 27th of February 1704-6, and that for England on the 10th of April 1706. The commiſſioners met at Whitehall on the 16th of that month; on the 22d of July, the articles were executed; on the 16th of January 1706-7, they were (with ſeveral alterations) ratified by an act of the Scotch Parliament; and on the 6th of

[a] 3 and 4 Anne, cap 7.

[b] Scotch Acts 1ſt Parl. of Q. Anne, 3d ſeſſion, c. 4. p. 776.

March

March of the ſame year, by the Engliſh ſtatute of 5th Anne, cap. 8. and the Union took effect on the 1ſt of May 1707.

Sir, I did in a prior debate*, declining at that time the *argument*, which was in much better hands, advert to the *authority* of ſeveral eminent perſons in Ireland on this queſtion of the competency of their Parliament, and referred to a debate in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, in which the Lord Chancellor, the two Chief Juſtices, and the Chief Baron had voted, and three of them ſpoken in ſupport of its competency. What I then ſaid has been miſunderſtood. I have been ſuppoſed not only to have aſſerted what I have juſt mentioned, and (which I alſo admit I did) that Mr. *Foſter* and Sir *John Parnell* had avoided giving their ſanction to the contrary doctrine, but to have added, with ſome triumph and exultation, that there had nobody been found to maintain it, but *M'Nevin* and *Lewins*. Sir, that is not what I ſtated. I did perhaps diſcover the ſatisfaction I felt from the conſideration that the diſtinguiſhed characters I have mentioned had ſupported that ſide of the queſtion which I thought was neceſſarily connected both with the general principles of government and thoſe of the Britiſh Conſtitution; but I never ſaid or meant to ſay, that no opinion had been delivered of an oppoſite ſort, by any body in Ireland, except *M'Nevin* and *Lewins*. I merely obſerved that the names of thoſe who, at the different county and other meetings which had then taken place, had come to reſolutions denying the competency did not appear; and that I thought it right, in contraſt with the learned Noblemen to

* Monday, 11th February 1799.

whom

whom I had referred, to mention two notorious perſons in that kingdom, who had in their own names and characters pronounced boldly, and without heſitation, their authoritative opinion to that effect. It was therefore unneceſſary to queſtion me whether I did not know in particular that three conſiderable lawyers, and Members of the Iriſh Parliament, had denied this competency; and whether I doubted of their legal learning and abilities? I dare ſay they have denied it. I have indeed read in a printed letter, to which the name of one of thoſe gentlemen is ſubſcribed, 'That the Parliament 'of Ireland, true to itſelf and honeſt to its country, will 'never aſſume a power extrinſic of its delegation[a].' Similar ſentiments may have been delivered by the other two, and by others in the ſiſter Parliament; and as to the legal abilities and acquirements of thoſe gentlemen, far be it from me to expreſs or entertain any opinion to their diſparagement. One of them I have the pleaſure of knowing; and that government, to which I had the honour of belonging when in Ireland, though ſo corrupt and wicked according to ſome of the Honourable Gentlemen on the oppoſite ſide of this Houſe, had the advantage of receiving from him a moſt ſtrenuous and ſpirited ſupport. I do not recollect the other two. I believe they were not in Parliament in my time, but I underſtand they are alſo men of talents and eloquence. But, Sir, I am perſuaded thoſe gentlemen themſelves would not think it implied any diſreſpect to them, as members of the profeſſion to which I once had the honour to belong, if I were now to ſay, that the opinions of barriſters, however able or eminent, are not, in point of authority, to be put in the balance, on a great conſtitutional point, with thoſe of the heads of his Majeſty's ſupreme tribunals, the

[a] Mr. *Barrington's* Letter to Mr. *Saurin*, dated 20th January 1799.

fathers and oracles of the law; especially when those great judicial stations are so filled as they at present are.

But, is it true, that, with a disproportion of members, such as it may be supposed will be settled between the two countries, Ireland would only give, and Great Britain only *acquire*? I speak now of legislative authority. In my judgment, quite otherwise. There would be a reciprocal, and, having regard to the respective weight of each in the scale of empire, an equal communication of power. The Lords and Commons of Great Britain would indeed acquire a direct share in the legislation of Ireland, but so would the Lords and Commons of Ireland in that of Great Britain. Mutually they would relinquish, or, if Gentlemen like a more exceptionable word better, would surrender, the exclusive jurisdiction over their respective countries; but each would obtain a share, commensurate with its relative importance in the united state, of the supreme dominion over the whole; and, therefore, as to the distinction attempted on the question of right, how can it be contended that the British Parliament may lawfully receive within its bosom, say 80, 100, or 120 strangers, vesting them individually with the same authority as its original members individually possessed, if the Irish Parliament cannot, on the condition of participating, according to due proportion, in the government of Great Britain and the empire, lawfully admit the legislators of this island and of the empire to a share, adjusted by the same rule of proportion, in the local government of Ireland? The idea that inequality of numbers would vitiate the transaction on the side of the weakest country, leads to this (as was well remarked by a Right Honourable Gentleman,

Gentleman, in one of the more early debates[a], that there could never be a lawful Union, unleſs the numbers in the united legiſlature were made correctly and arithmetically equal on both ſides. If ſo, had England agreed to the unreaſonable demand, during the laſt century, on the part of Scotland[b], of joining the two Parliaments according to their then exiſting numbers, or were Great Britain now to receive into her Houſe of Commons, all the 300 repreſentatives of Ireland, and to unite together the two Houſes of Peers as they now ſtand, the tranſaction would ſtill have no legal ſolidity; the Scotch Parliament formerly, and the Iriſh Parliament now, would ſtill have betrayed their truſts.

But this junction of the Parliaments, this identification or incorporation of the two Houſes of each, in analogy to the identity which already exiſts as to the third eſtate, is treated as a deſtruction, an extinction, an utter annihilation of the conſtitution of Ireland. The ſame terms were miſapplied in Scotland to the Union of that country with this; for, ingenious and inventive in arguments on moſt ſubjects as ſome of our opponents are, they will give me leave to ſay, that on many of the points of this queſtion, they appear to me mere plagiariſts, to a degree of ſervility, not only of the topics, but, in general, even of the very language and expreſſions which were then employed. Of this any man may convince himſelf by comparing the late debates here and elſewhere, with the Hiſtory of *De Foe*, and the Memoirs of *Lockhart*.

In the caſe of Scotland and England the miſapplication was not ſo great. In that caſe, the third branch of

[a] Mr. *D. Ryder*. [b] In 1670.

each Legiſlature, though for the time it centred in the ſame perſon, was ſo far from being inſeparably mixed, ſo as to form one indiviſible whole, that a law actually exiſted[a], by which its ſeparation, at no diſtant period, into two diſtinct ſovereignties, was expreſsly eſtabliſhed.

It were to be wiſhed that Gentlemen would explain what that eſſential part of the conſtitution of Ireland is, which the incorporation of its Lords and Commons with ours will annihilate. It has always appeared to me that in two principles is comprehended the eſſence of ours and of the Iriſh conſtitution, which, with the exception of certain abuſes, real or imputed, of different ſorts, to be found in each kingdom, is one and the ſame. How often have I heard Gentlemen in the Iriſh Parliament boaſt that they enjoyed, how often read in the publiſhed harangues and eſſays of Iriſh politicians, their exultation in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh conſtitution! I ſay, I have always conceived that the moſt eſſential principles of that conſtitution are two: 1. That it is compoſed of three independent eſtates or branches, forming checks each upon the other two. 2. That no law can paſs, affecting the life, the liberty or property of the ſubject, without the concurrence of a repreſentative body choſen from among the people, in a mode formed on the conſideration of property and franchiſe, and conſiſting of an adequate number of perſons; and of ſuch a mixed deſcription, as to bring to the legiſlative aſſemblies competent knowledge, both of general and local concerns, and a ſympathy of intereſt in regard to every thing that can affect their conſtituents and the nation at large.

[a] The Scotch Act of Anne, called the Act of Security, 1ſt Parliament of Queen Anne, 2d Seſ. c. 3. p. 723.

Now,

Now, Sir, if this deſcription is in any degree true, how can it be ſaid, that the combining into one ſupreme Imperial Council a juſt number of the repreſentatives of both nations for one Houſe, and of the Peers for the other, will be the annihilation of the conſtitution? The Legiſlature of the empire may, in my opinion, in one point of view, and that perhaps the moſt enlarged and the ſoundeſt, be conſidered as one great political machine; conſiſting of one and the ſame ſupreme head, both executive and legiſlative; to which are attached, or linked and knit, two ſeparate members, while each of thoſe two is ſubdivided again into two analogous parts: the one member, the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, empowered to prepare for the Sovereign's deliberation, ſanction, or rejection, whatever may ſeem neceſſary for Great Britain, and for the empire at large: the other, the Lords and Commons of Ireland, poſſeſſing only, but excluſively—as far as ſuch excluſion is conſiſtent with the idea of an unity of empire, either on the preſent or any other poſſible frame of ſuch a machine—the ſame power as to the kingdom of Ireland. Let me aſk, whether this machine, conſidered theoretically at leaſt, would not be ſimplified, its ſtructure improved, and the two eſſential objects I have pointed out, better ſecured, by blending and incorporating, in a fit proportion, the two ſeparate members into one?

But,

But, Sir, after making the beſt ſtand they can on this quickſand of incompetency, the Gentlemen paſſed to the real merits of the queſtion, and expreſsly deny that Ireland will reap any benefit from the meaſure; meaning, I ſuppoſe, alſo to deny, that it will prove beneficial to this country, or to the empire at large. I ſuppoſe they mean this, becauſe I cannot think that any man of good ſenſe, or who is a real friend to Ireland, can diſjoin her intereſts from thoſe of this kingdom, and of the other parts of the Britiſh dominions, or contend that any great arrangement is unadviſable and unjuſt, which ſhall tend to the general advantage of thoſe other branches of the empire, merely becauſe no particular advantage may accrue to Ireland, provided that country is not thereby expoſed to ſome detriment or danger.

Let us therefore examine a few of the moſt prominent circumſtances of advantage which may be reaſonably expected to flow from a Union, in the firſt place, *to Great Britain*, and to *the reſt of his Majeſty's dominions*; but, ſecondly, *to Ireland*;—conſidering the ſubject in a general view of legiſlative and executive government, of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, of internal peace, civilization, and proſperity: under which heads we may alſo diſcuſs ſome of the principal objections which have been relied on, either here or in the ſiſter country.

With regard to *this country*, its legiſlative and executive councils would no longer be liable to be perplexed in conſequence of the diſtinct machinery of a ſeparate Iriſh Parliament, nor the general government continue in

in conſtant danger of miſapprehenſion and diſputes, and ſubject to the inconveniences which inevitably ariſe from circuity of communication, and the impediments and embarraſſing modifications to which jealouſy or ignorance on the one ſide or the other will ſo often give occaſion (while things remain as they are), in many of the moſt important concerns of the empire.

In other reſpects it may be difficult to foreſee any immediate advantage to Great Britain, to her manufactures, her agriculture, her trade, or general proſperity. Some people, indeed, rather apprehend danger to Britiſh commerce and manufactures; and that ſuppoſed migration of capital and ſkill to a cheaper country, to a country poſſeſſing a ſuperiority of ſituation as to many branches of buſineſs which has been often the ſubject of public diſcuſſion, is argued upon as a too probable conſequence of a Union*. To this it might be a ſufficient anſwer for the ſtateſman to ſay, that if what one part of the united kingdom ſhall loſe another will gain, there will be no public detriment to the whole. But that anſwer, I own, ſounds harſh to my ears. I think you ought not, on ſuch general conſiderations of policy, to overlook the feelings and intereſts of the numerous individuals and claſſes of them, who have, as it were, localized their ingenuity, their induſtry, their wealth, and their habits of life, under the countenance and implied faith of pre-exiſting laws and inſtitutions. There is a better anſwer, I believe, in the fact, that capital and induſtry ſo localized are not eaſily influenced at once to change their ſituation, by ſuch temptations. The attempts which have been made, at various times, to tranſfer, by ſome ſudden effort of ſpeculation and enterpriſe, Engliſh money and credit, and

* Mr. *Peele's* Speech.

Engliſh

Engliſh art and ſkill, to cheaper and more eligible places in Scotland, Wales, and even Ireland, have rarely been ſucceſsful, or perſevered in; and it is no inconſiderable illuſtration and proof of this poſition, that, even with regard to external trade, which is certainly more locomotive than manufactures, thoſe towns and ports where accident at firſt, and a long ſeries of cauſes afterwards, have operated to eſtabliſh it, are ſeldom or ever outrivalled, or their commerce drawn off, by any exertions however powerful in favour of ſituations better adapted by nature for carrying it on.

Gradually, however, after a Union, Ireland will undoubtedly attract much wealth, capital, and credit from this country, not only by the circumſtances of advantage to which I have alluded, but alſo, more eſpecially, becauſe an uniformity of laws and legiſlature will give greater confidence to thoſe who may be diſpoſed to embark in enterpriſes of ſpeculation, or place their money on commercial or landed ſecurities in that kingdom. This, one ſhould think, would be a ſtrong and reaſonable argument with Ireland (of which afterwards); but ſuch gradual benefit to be reaped by her, will not affect the intereſts of individuals now engaged in buſineſs here, and will unqueſtionably, from the known principles and hiſtory of public wealth, tend in its progreſs, by multiplying intercourſe, and the returns of profit in and between both countries, to increaſe the riches of both, and of the whole empire.

Let us now give a moment's conſideration to the effects of the propoſed Union on that *empire*, as an aggregate

gate of which, Great Britain and Ireland form the two chief and preponderating members.

And here, Sir, it will be enough juſt to obſerve, what no man, I think, can deny, that in all caſes where it is practicable, one general, ſuperintending, and controlling legiſlature, is the beſt fitted for the ſteady, conſiſtent, and rational government of all the parts of that combination of individuals and territories which conſtitutes what is denominated a ſtate.

To endeavour to enforce this poſition by a long train of argument, indiſputable as I conceive it to be, would be an unwarrantable waſte of time and words.

It has indeed been ſaid, in anſwer to thoſe who have pointed out the obvious inconvenience which might ariſe from a difference of opinion on any great imperial queſtion, as of peace and war, between two diſtinct Parliaments, that equal inconvenience would follow from a difference of a like ſort between the ſeveral branches of the ſame Parliament; but that ſuch differences, though they may be ſuggeſted by theory, have not been found to happen in practice[b]. I muſt beg leave to ſay that they certainly ſometimes have happened, both between the two Houſes, and between thoſe Houſes and the Sovereign, in the Britiſh Parliament, and with the hazard, at leaſt, of conſiderable detriment to the ſtate. But there are material diſtinctions between the two caſes which have been thus brought into compariſon. The identity of intereſt between the ſeveral branches of the legiſlative and executive government of the ſame country is much more direct and ſenſible, and therefore, on diſcuſſion, much leſs apt to be miſtaken by either,

[b] Mr. *Fox*'s Speech, p. 54, 55.

than what exiſts between two kingdoms, though forming parts of the ſame empire. Beſides, there is a facility of diſcuſſion and explanation, by conference, addreſs, remonſtrance, &c. between the reſpective branches of the ſame Parliament, which cannot take place between two diſtinct Legiſlatures.

It is alſo ſaid, that the checks which the proceedings of the three branches of the ſame Parliament produce, furniſh a principle to which our conſtitution owes its ſtability, and that ſimilar checks exiſt between the two ſiſter Parliaments[b]. No doubt this is true to a certain extent; but it would be eaſy to ſhew, that in the caſe of the two Parliaments ſuch checks exiſt in a very imperfect degree, without any foundation in their formal and legal conſtitutions[c], and with little more force or efficacy, than thoſe which prevail in the relations of different ſtates, having common intereſts, but no link or connexion in their governments. Such checks between the different nations of our part of the globe contributed for a time to maintain what uſed to be called the balance of Europe; but although thoſe of a more ſubſtantial and operative kind, in concurrence with other cauſes, have to this day preſerved, and, I truſt, if perpetuity can belong to human inſtitutions, will ever preſerve our frame of government, the other and inferior ſort has not been found of equal power in giving permanency to that balance.

[b] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 55.

[c] This is not inconſiſtent with what is afterwards ſaid of the juriſdiction the Britiſh Parliament may exerciſe over the executive miniſters who adviſe the King in aſſenting to, or rejecting Iriſh bills. That juriſdiction is without power to ſtop ſuch aſſent or rejection; and, therefore, forms no immediate or abſolute check, though it may afterwards puniſh thoſe who have adviſed the Crown to give or refuſe its aſſent.

I admit

I admit that circumſtances of diſtance (there may be others) are ſometimes ſuch as to render ſo deſirable an object as one common imperial legiſlature impracticable. Such I take to have been the caſe with regard to our colonies in North America. I believe all ſober men of all parties, both here and on that continent, would have agreed, that, could it have been done, the admiſſion into the Britiſh Parliament of an adequate number of repreſentatives from thence, would have been the happieſt method of reconciling the diſputes and removing the difficulties which terminated in a civil war, and the ſeparation of that country from the empire. Dr. *Adam Smith*, and many others, recommended the experiment. The immenſe diſtance, and the uncertainty of regular, periodical, frequent, and early communication between American repreſentatives in Great Britain and their conſtituents in America, ſeem to me to have oppoſed inſurmountable obſtacles to ſuch a plan.

But that no valid objection of a like nature exiſts in the caſe of Ireland, is, I think, abundantly manifeſt. Some gentlemen, indeed, of that country have expreſſed, in very ſtrong language, their ideas of the inconvenience which would attend what they quaintly term a *tranſmarine* Parliament; and one learned barriſter, at the celebrated meeting of the profeſſion which took place early in Dublin, is ſtated to have pronounced, 'That a Britiſh Miniſter ſhall not, 'and cannot, plant another Sicily in the boſom of the At'lantic, and that God and nature never intended that Ire'land ſhould be a province[4].'

If by this is meant, that the intervening channel is, in the nature of things, an inſuperable difficulty in the way

[4] Debates of the Iriſh Bar, 9th December 1798, p. 47.

ſuch regulations may affect the commercial and political intereſts of Ireland?

On the admiſſion of her repreſentatives among thoſe of this iſland, ſhe will immediately acquire her proportionate ſhare in all thoſe great concerns; a voice in the legiſlative government of Great Britain, and of every part of the Britiſh dominions.

This is not all: Ireland will not only have this ſhare of general legiſlation, through the influence and ſuffrages of her own immediate repreſentatives; ſhe will alſo be repreſented and entitled to ſpeak through the influence and ſuffrages of every one of the 513 members choſen in this iſland. This was ably pointed out in a former debate, by a Gentleman who, on that occaſion, diſcovered the moſt enlarged and liberal views of general policy, united to the ſoundeſt ſpeculative as well as practical knowledge of commerce and manufacture[b].

And here we may perceive the groſs fallacy of the idea which ſo often mixes itſelf in theſe debates, and has, as we have ſeen, been founded on the argument of incompetency; viz. that the concerns of Ireland will be ſolely and excluſively attended to, and this too on a principle of oppoſition and hoſtility, by the ſmaller number of members which ſhe will have to chooſe. It will, on the contrary, be then the duty, and on all great points will, I am ſatisfied, be the deſire and the true intereſt of thoſe elected here, to give their due weight to the intereſts, general or local, of Ireland, in their deliberations and in their votes; and in other caſes I am apt to believe, what reſpects Ireland will be wholly left to the deciſion of the Iriſh mem-

[b] Mr. *Peele.*

bers,

bers, as I have already obſerved to have happened ſo generally in regard to the Scotch members of the Britiſh Parliament, when the ſubject before the Legiſlature has merely related to Scotland. Natural and fair reaſons for this, and equally applicable to Ireland, might eaſily be ſtated; but it is enough here to appeal to the fact, which has been ſo notorious, that when my Right Honourable Friend aſked in a former debate, whether Scotland had, in conſequence of her comparatively ſmall number of forty-five members, been oppreſſed or taxed beyond her proportion ſince the Union? the mere ſuppoſition, ſo contrary to experience, forced a ſmile from the Gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe.

But, as I have juſt ſaid, *every* individual in the united Parliament, will in principle, and as a duty, have veſted in him a portion of Britiſh and alſo a portion of Iriſh repreſentation, and this, in the ratio of the comparative weight and importance of the two countries in the general ſcale. And let not Gentlemen pay ſo poor a compliment to the candour and wiſdom of Britiſh Legiſlators as to think they will either ſupinely or partially ſhut out from their minds important objects which may more immediately concern Ireland, but the deciſion on which cannot but alſo affect the welfare of the whole united kingdom. Many, indeed, choſen for Great Britain will feel even perſonal motives as ſtrong or ſtronger for looking to the advantage of Ireland as for conſulting that of this country. Have we, for inſtance, any reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Honourable Member for Stafford, if he ſhould happily fail, as I truſt he will, in the object of his preſent miſtaken zeal, and the Union ſhould be eſtabliſhed, will be a leſs vigilant guardian of the privileges and intereſts of his native land, than of thoſe of the

the country he has thought fit to adopt? or will a native of Great Britain, if he happens alſo to be a merchant principally engaged in Iriſh commerce, and looking to that country as the ſource of his wealth and fortune; while the opulent Engliſh mortgagee of an eſtate in Ireland (of which deſcription ſome, I believe, have now ſeats in this Houſe) will men of that ſort, members choſen for Britiſh ſeats, to the united Parliament, be apt to overlook that part of their duty which they will owe to the ſiſter iſland? Such Gentlemen are even now prompt enough, and I mention it to their honour, to ſpeak as if they repreſented Ireland here. But, as matters ſtand, they can hardly do ſo conſtitutionally, and certainly not effectually. If a Union take place, ſuch a conduct will be at once reconcilable to their inclination, their rights, and their duty.

Sir, it has been a very common objection in Ireland to meaſures affecting that country undertaken by the government here, that miniſters in London, with all the opportunities their ſtations may furniſh, and their ſenſe of duty urge them to improve, have not the means of acquiring ſuch an habitual and detailed knowledge of the characters, circumſtances, and intereſts of that kingdom, as would have been neceſſary to enable them to have judged with ſufficient certainty of the juſtice or policy of ſuch meaſures. I do not mean here to refer to thoſe perſons in that kingdom who have borrowed from the phraſeology of their predeceſſors in Scotland the inflammatory and inapplicable terms of *foreign* government, *foreign* cabinet, *foreign* miniſters, &c. I ſpeak of many men firmly attached to the connexion with Britain and the intereſts of the empire, and who conſider Iriſhmen and Britons not as foreigners to each other, but

but as friends and countrymen, living under the allegiance of the ſame ſovereign, and entitled reciprocally to all the privileges—I was going to ſay of *citizenſhip*, but that word has been profaned,—of natural born-ſubjects, in either kingdom. Men even of that deſcription are not unfrequently heard to ſay, 'The government in England is 'unacquainted with the concerns and the people of this 'country. They ſeldom interfere without doing harm. 'Why do they not leave us to ourſelves?'

It is needleſs to argue the obvious inadmiſſibility of the concluſion thus drawn from premiſes concerning the truth of which it is not my buſineſs to inquire. The adminiſtrators of the ſupreme ſuperintending government of the empire, in all its parts, muſt reſide near the perſon of the Sovereign. But though we cannot give way to the principle, it does not follow that the facts may not, in ſome inſtances, have proved more or leſs true.

Now, Sir, the incorporation of the legiſlatures would, I think, by the frequent preſence of the Iriſh Peers and Commoners at the ſeat of general government, afford a perfect cure to this evil. Men thoroughly acquainted with all the affairs of that kingdom; natives, probably, of all or moſt of the different cities and counties; perſons poſſeſſing property, engaged in trade and manufactures, or exerciſing profeſſions over the whole extent of the country, would be then, during the ſitting of Parliament, ready on the ſpot to repreſent to the Miniſters, or even ſubmit directly to the Sovereign, and when the occaſion called on them, in the different ſtages of any meaſure, or on the firſt preſſure of any emergency, would have it in their power to bring before the eyes of the imperial Legiſlature itſelf, and ſupport in both Houſes, by their weight, their talents, and

their ſuffrages, whatever their duty to their country, or to their immediate conſtituents, might ſeem to require.

But the moſt ſeducing topic with the vulgar, and with ſome alſo in Ireland of a higher claſs who poſſeſs a ſtronger ſenſe than underſtanding of national dignity and honour, has been the independence of their country. This is repreſented as ſo inſeparably connected with the Parliament they now enjoy, that when the mode of their legiſlation ſhall be changed, and they ſhall ceaſe to have this Parliament excluſively their own, they imagine the nation muſt ceaſe to be independent, and that they will become a debaſed and degraded people. Sir, when ſuch a change as is propoſed, is conſidered as a degradation and debaſement, it certainly muſt ariſe from ſome confuſion in the ideas annexed to thoſe words.

If Ireland and its Parliament ſhall be incorporated with the Britiſh nation and Parliament, they will undoubtedly loſe their diſtinctneſs and identity. They will no longer have a ſeparate political exiſtence; they will become, but ſo will Great Britain and her Parliament, parts only of the united whole; and in as far as a part cannot be ſaid to be independent of the other parts, Ireland will, in that ſenſe, become dependent on Great Britain, but ſo will Great Britain on Ireland. If after this it ſhall be contended that the leſſer part is more dependent than the greater, the argument will be found to reſolve itſelf into what we have already diſcuſſed, namely, the effects of the diſproportion of numbers between the Iriſh and Britiſh members of the common Parliament.

May I, however, be permitted to aſk whether the Iriſh Parliament, even ſince the boaſted revolution or conſtitution

tion of 1782, is, or ever can, in its ſeparate, yet connected ſtate, be totally independent? I know, Sir, that this may be reckoned delicate ground, but it has been, unguardedly I think, reſorted to by the enemies of a Union, and I but follow them in entering upon it; and, beſides, I feel too ſtrongly the ties of duty and affection by which I hold myſelf to be connected with that country as well as this, to avoid any part of the argument, which has been rendered neceſſary to a ſound deciſion, merely becauſe, if ill underſtood, what I may ſay upon it may prove unpopular in the neighbouring kingdom. In ſuch circumſtances *maluerim veris offendere quam placere adulando.*

Is then a Parliament independent, whoſe proceedings cannot receive the force of law without the act of perſons not members of that Parliament in any of its branches, and who, in acting or refuſing to act in that reſpect, are themſelves reſponſible to another Parliament? Yet that this is the very condition and ſtate of the Iriſh Parliament is clear from the ſtatute-book of Ireland; and indeed its being ſo is fondly conſidered by ſome of the moſt able, though, alas! alſo moſt prejudiced oppoſers of a Union, as eſſential to the happy connexion of that country with this. 'The ſtatute (Iriſh St. 20 & 22 Geo. III. c. 47.) 'enacts, that no bill ſhall paſs into a law in Ireland, un'leſs it be returned under the Great Seal of Great Bri'tain; thus not leaving the connexion of the two king'doms a bare junction under one ſovereign, but ſecuring 'the continuance of that connexion, by making the Bri'tiſh miniſter anſwerable to the Britiſh nation' (i. e. the Britiſh Parliament), 'if any law ſhould receive the royal 'aſſent in Ireland which could in any way injure the em-

 pire,

'pire, be incompatible with its imperial intereſts, or tend 'to ſeparate Ireland from it[b].'

To analyſe this matter more in detail. The Great Seal of Great Britain cannot be put to an Iriſh bill but by the Chancellor or Lord Keeper of that ſeal, who will ſeldom execute this duty of his office without the concurrence of thoſe other Miniſters of State, members of the Britiſh Council, who conſtitute what is called the Cabinet. Every act ſo done, though under the command of the King, is an executive, not a legiſlative act, which the Miniſter adviſes and performs at his peril, liable to be called to account for it by impeachment in this Parliament. His Majeſty's perſonal expreſſion of his aſſent to an Iriſh ſtatute is perhaps as purely legiſlative as that by which he aſſents to a Britiſh law; but every public act done by a ſubject, except his ſpeaking and voting in Parliament, is in its nature executive, and that for which he is reſponſible. In the ſentence I juſt now took the liberty to repeat, there ſeems to be implied ſome notion or ſuggeſtion that the reſponſibility of the Britiſh Miniſters is confined to the caſe of Iriſh ſtatutes affecting the empire at large, or tending to a ſeparation of the two kingdoms. The Iriſh act referred to, ſays no ſuch thing. It is indeed very common to hear a diſtinction made between acts of the Iriſh Parliament concerning the local policy and intereſts of that kingdom, and thoſe whoſe objects are imperial. In a popular ſenſe, and in extreme caſes, ſuch a diſtinction no doubt exiſts. A road or eſtate bill in Ireland can hardly, by any poſſibility, concern the empire at large; and it might be folly in a Britiſh Chancellor or Cabinet to exerciſe any judgment, or apprehend any reſponſibility,

[b] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 24.

in

in regard to it. But the law draws no line, and in every Iriſh ſtatute of any conſiderable moment the empire muſt be more or leſs concerned. Who is to judge of the degree in which it is ſo, or of the propriety and ſafety of adviſing his Majeſty to receive or reject any ſuch ſtatute? who but the Miniſter or Miniſters who may be queſtioned for giving that advice, and carrying it into effect? a queſtion which any member for any county or borough in this kingdom may ſtir whenever he pleaſes. I muſt therefore aſk again, whether this does not prove that there ſtill remains not a ſhadowy, but a real and ſubſtantial ſubordination or dependence of the Iriſh on the Britiſh Parliament; a dependence or ſubordination inherent in the very nature of the preſent mode of connexion between the two countries[b].

[b] The following paſſage will be found entirely to agree with what is above ſtated: 'I do not heſitate to ſay, that in thus rendering the 'Great Seal of Britain neceſſary to the paſſing an Iriſh law, if we 'created a theoretic difference in the conſtitution of the two kingdoms, 'which renders ours *inferior*, it is one not injurious to us, but *neceſſary* 'from *our ſituation in the empire**.' To ſome of the concluding part of the ſame paragraph I can by no means aſſent, *viz.* 'And one with 'which we are content, and *which ſecures Union and connexion on a firm* 'and *laſting baſis*.' The perſon whoſe words theſe are, and moſt of the friends of Great Britain in Ireland, may be content with the inferiority he mentions, or at leaſt prefer it to the misfortune of ſeparation; but how it ſhould be thought that a mere act of the Iriſh Parliament, which may be repealed as it was enacted, can ſecure a laſting Union and connexion, eſpecially with our late experience of the alarming exertions of ſo many enemies of Great Britain, at home and and abroad, to deſtroy that connexion, is really matter of ſurpriſe. Is the Iriſh act of 21 & 22 Geo. III. 'a *parchment-roll*' of greater and more permanent force and virtue than a treaty of Union, ratified by both Legiſlatures, would be?

* Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 24.

† Ibid. p. 51, 63.

With

With regard to the executive government, its ſubordination is ſtill more obvious. The King's ſolemn commands, to be executed in Ireland, are either communicated to the Lord Lieutenant when he enters upon his office by his commiſſion and general inſtructions under the ſeals of Great Britain, or by King's letters, tranſmitted from time to time, and counterſigned by one of the Secretaries of State, or, in revenue matters, by the Lord Treaſurer or three of the Lords of the Treaſury. This courſe of buſineſs, if I recollect rightly, is reported to have been ſtated nearly as I have taken the liberty of doing, by a diſtinguiſhed Peer of both kingdoms, in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, about a year ago[b].

What is the conſequence of all this? Ireland is ſtill jealous of her independency. We are told by many, that ſhe conquered that independency, and will maintain it by the ſword: ſhe therefore revolts at the practical exerciſe of powers conſtitutionally veſted in the Parliament and Miniſters of this country. The government here, partly from the fear of renewing former or exciting new animoſities, partly from other cauſes, are ſuppoſed in general caſes to leave matters to the Iriſh Parliament, and the Miniſters of that country. From time to time, however, points will occur where there may appear ſtrong and cogent reaſons for their exerciſing their own judgment and diſcretion, and this perhaps in a manner contrary to the ſentiments prevailing with the ſervants of the Crown in Ireland. In ſuch caſes the difficulty may often be ſurmounted by the prudence of confidential intercourſe, and the adoption of ſome middle way, ſuggeſted by good temper and good

[b] The Earl of *Moira*. Report of the Debate on his Lordſhip's motion, 19th February 1798, p. 46.

ſenſe

ſenſe on the one ſide and the other, ſo as not to alarm the dignity of Ireland, or commit the imperial authority reſident here. But more than once, even ſince I have had my attention directed to Iriſh affairs, ſituations have ariſen in which the Engliſh Miniſtry have thought it their duty (whether they were right or wrong on thoſe particular occaſions, is not now the point) to exerciſe, without ſuch a temperature, an immediate controuling authority in Ireland. Now, Sir, whenever this has happened they have incurred more than the hazard of rouſing the jealouſy, and affronting the high ſpirit of ſome of thoſe perſons in that kingdom who had been accuſtomed to a leading ſhare in the meaſures of her government, and may think they are conſcious to themſelves of a ſuperior knowledge of her affairs.

Here then is a dilemma which has already occaſioned many difficulties, and which, unleſs ſome remedy can be applied, and ſome alteration take place, will, I fear, in future, be the ſource of growing embarraſſment to both governments, and much ill blood between the two countries; nor can I ſee the poſſibility of any alteration which can have the effect of a remedy whilſt the preſent ſyſtem remains. His Majeſty, in order to exerciſe his legiſlative and executive functions, muſt either go to Ireland; or he muſt exerciſe them through the medium of ſervants, reſponſible and impeachable here; or Ireland, by its repreſentatives, muſt come to England. The firſt of theſe plans would only remove the difficulty as to Ireland by throwing it upon Great Britain; and beſides, the reſidence of the King of the Britiſh dominions any where but in Great Britain will hardly be propoſed. The ſecond we have ſhewn to be incompatible with the real independency of Iriſh legiſlative and executive government. The third, therefore,

therefore, only remains; i. e. ſuch a legiſlative Union and incorporation, as that the Iriſh nation ſhall be repreſented in this country by an adequate number of Lords and Commoners, returned to ſerve at Weſtminſter in a common or united Parliament. Then, indeed, it will be no longer true of Ireland, that ſhe 'muſt tamely follow Great 'Britain with ſubmiſſion and ſubſervience;' then ſhe will be no longer *gens quæ juxta jacet, dubiæ libertatis*; the country and its legiſlation will then, by their identification with this, be truly independent. They never can be ſo otherwiſe, unleſs Ireland will ſeparate herſelf from Great Britain, and can truſt to her own ſtrength and means in reſiſting, or to the liberality of our enemies in not attempting to impoſe upon her the yoke of a government really foreign.

Having ſaid ſo much on the topics of general policy, in reſpect to legiſlation and executive government, I will now, with the leave of the Houſe, examine this queſtion of Union, as it may affect the intereſts of Ireland in her trade, manufactures, and agriculture; intereſts which, when rightly underſtood, mutually aſſiſt each other, and which may be conſidered together, being liable in moſt inſtances to be improved or injured by the ſame cauſes.

The advocates againſt a Union have uſed much ſubtlety, though, in general, little method or order, in arguing this part of the ſubject. As far as I have been able to arrange what they have ſaid, they ſeem to contend that Ireland is now in a moſt flouriſhing ſituation, and in a ſtate of progreſſive improvement; that ſhe owes this, in the firſt place, to a compact under which her linen trade has been cultivated with the moſt happy ſucceſs; and in the next, to that more ſolemn compact with Great Britain, 'the 'glorious

'glorious conſtitution of 1782,' which enabled her to legiſlate for herſelf, and ſecure, protect, and cheriſh by her own vigilant attention to the great objects of her proſperity, that trade, and all the other branches of her commerce, her manufactures, and her agriculture.

Theſe compacts they treat as binding and complete. They cannot be departed from, and nothing farther is wanting to the growing proſperity and ſafety of Ireland. But a Union would annul them, would ſhake or deſtroy every ſecurity which they have eſtabliſhed, and would ſubſtitute in their place, the capricious, ſelfiſh, and deſpotic will of an unjuſt, narrow-minded, and rapacious rival. Theſe, perhaps, are not the words, but I think they expreſs, and do not exaggerate the meaning of what has been frequently and very recently inſiſted upon.

Let us therefore a little inquire, but, as far as we can, with moderation and temper, the beſt companions of reaſon and juſtice, how theſe different allegations ſtand in point of fact. And firſt, as to the ſuppoſed compact concerning the linen trade.

It is admitted that Great Britain is the great cuſtomer of Ireland for that her ſtaple commodity; that we receive it for our home conſumption free of all duty; and encourage its re-exportation from hence to foreign parts by the ſame bounties which we beſtow on our own manufacture. This, I ſay, is admitted; but,—beſides endeavouring to extenuate the merit which it is feared this country might lay claim to for the liberality of ſuch conduct, by the hackneyed anſwer, that ſhe, like other ſtates and nations under like circumſtances, is governed in her tranſactions with Ireland, merely by the impreſſion of her own benefit

and advantage—it is ſtated, 'That this encouragement to the Iriſh linen trade is the effect of a ſpecial contract, by which, for a valuable conſideration, England became bound to grant and maintain it. The valuable conſideration was, the relinquiſhment by Ireland of her woollen export trade, in which ſhe had or might have become a dangerous rival. England had grown jealous of this rivality; her manufacturers and her Parliament had urged King William to check it; he had conſented, and had expreſſed that conſent in terms juſtly offenſive to Ireland; a negotiation enſued; and acts of each of the two Parliaments paſſed, by which Ireland engaged to withdraw from all competition as to woollen goods, on the condition, that England would give that preference and aſſiſtance, which ſhe does, to the linen manufactory of Ireland; in conſequence of this treaty, the woollen fabrics, of which ſhe at that time exported to the amount of 110,000*l.* a year, were abandoned; they cannot be reſumed; and therefore Great Britain cannot recall or cancel that obligation by which ſhe engaged herſelf to promote, in the manner alleged, the linen trade of that country.' Such is in ſubſtance the ſtatement made.

It is extraordinary, but true, that ſince theſe debates began, many perſons, not ill informed in matters of this ſort, and anxious to obtain correct information on the point now in queſtion, have avowed their ignorance, and unſucceſsful endeavours to obtain the knowledge of the documents and acts in which this ſuppoſed compact is contained, of its date, particular clauſes and proviſions, and of the ſanctions, whether of a ſtatutable or diplomatic nature, by which it was guarded. But what I have

* Q. Why?

to

to add, is ſtill more extraordinary, and equally true, namely, that, ſuch as it was, it no longer exiſts, but was done away, and totally and entirely repealed and made void, many years ago, at the inſtance of Ireland herſelf; and that the advantages which Great Britain ſtill confers on the linen trade of Ireland, are, on her part, at the preſent hour, merely voluntary, whatever may be the motives of generoſity, policy, or ſelf-intereſt, which induce her to continue them.

For my own part, I confeſs that I know of no ſatisfactory evidence of agreements or compacts between nations, except what are to be found in their diplomatic or legiſlative records. Between nations totally diſtinct, they muſt, to have ſubſtantial validity, be expreſſed in the ſtipulations of mutual and ſolemn treaties, duly executed; between countries connected as Ireland and England were, and as Ireland and Great Britain are, by acts of their reſpective Legiſlatures, paſſed with relation expreſs or implied each to the other, ſo as that the act on the one ſide ſhall be the condition and conſideration of that on the other ſide. I have accordingly endeavoured to trace the hiſtory of the buſineſs I am now diſcuſſing, in thoſe ſure, and only ſure, repoſitories of the national tranſactions of both countries with each other—their reſpective ſtatute-books;—and the correct reſult appears to me to be as follows:

Reſtrictive taxes had been laid long ago back as the period of the Edwards, on the importation of woollen goods into this kingdom, whether from Ireland or any other country beyond ſeas. But not to go back to any earlier period than the Reſtoration, by the act of 12 Car. II. c. 4. ſ. 1. 8*s.* 6*d.* per yard were impoſed on all woollen

cloths, and 1*s.* 3*d.* on woollen ſtuffs[a], imported into England. Theſe laſt-mentioned duties have never been repealed. They have indeed been increaſed to 1*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* per yard on cloth, and 5*s.* 6*d.* on ſtuffs, by the operation of new and general ſubſidies, affecting them in common with all other articles of importation. But the duty of 8*s.* 6*d.* per yard alone amounted, and would of itſelf ſtill amount, to an entire prohibition; for neither Ireland nor any country on earth could come in competition with this in her home market, if burdened with that duty. Thus ſtood the law at the period when the ſuppoſed bargain took place. The Houſe will ſee that England did not then want the concurrence of Ireland, nor had any occaſion to purchaſe that concurrence by any conceſſion on her part, in order to exclude Iriſh woollens from her own home market.

But it ſeems the Engliſh Legiſlature and Government of that time thought it good policy to liſten to the repreſentations, made by the Engliſh manufacturers, of the danger their ſtaple trade was expoſed to from the competition of the Iriſh in foreign countries. The Iriſh Parliament, on the other hand, ſeem to have been ſatisfied, that it was upon the whole for the intereſt of their country, to obtain the favour and protection of England to her linen manufactures, which had been even then carried to a conſiderable height, by an amicable underſtanding, and the relinquiſhment of that hoſtile competition in the woollen buſineſs abroad, which had occaſioned ſo much ill-humour on this ſide of the water.

[a] Note.—The duty was 12*d.* in the pound, or 5 per cent. on the value, as valued in the book of rates; and cloths were rated ſo high as 8*l.* 10*s.* per yard, ſtuffs at 1*l.* 5*s.*

Accordingly

Accordingly they paſſed a law, in the 10th year of William III.[b], impoſing an *ad valorem* duty of 4*s.* in the pound on all broad cloth, and 2*s.* in the pound on ſerges, baize, &c. exported from Ireland to any part of the world. This amounted in effect to a prohibition; but no act was paſſed in England on the occaſion, to check or prohibit the exportation of Engliſh linens. Will it be ſaid, Ireland had reaſon to expect ſuch a law to paſs? where is the evidence of this?

The Engliſh Houſe of Lords, in an addreſs to the Throne, had indeed preſſed the King to declare, 'that 'if the woollen trade were relinquiſhed in Ireland, and 'the ſubjects there ſhould turn their induſtry and ſkill to 'the ſettling and improving the linen manufacture, for 'which generally the lands of that kingdom were very 'proper, they ſhould receive all favour, countenance, 'and protection from his royal influence for the encou-'ragement and promoting of the ſaid linen manufacture, 'to all the advantage and profit that kingdom could be 'capable of[c].'

The Engliſh Commons, in like manner, had implored the King to 'make it his royal care to diſcourage the 'woollen, and encourage the linen manufacture in Ire-'land, to which they ſaid they ſhould always be ready to 'give their utmoſt aſſiſtance[d].'

And the King, in anſwer to this addreſs of the Com-

[b] Iriſh Statutes, 10 Will. III. c. 5.

[c] Journals of the Houſe of Lords, vol. xvi. p. 314. 9th June 1698.

[d] Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. xii. p. 337. 30th June 1698.

mons,

mons, had ſaid, 'I will do all that in me lies to diſcourage 'the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and encourage the 'linen manufacture there[b].'

It was after this that the Iriſh act I have juſt mentioned paſſed.

The Engliſh laws at that time as to Iriſh linen ſtood thus: by the 7th and 8th William III. c. 39. Iriſh linen was made importable into England duty free; but a new ſubſidy of 5 per cent. on all goods imported, having been granted in the year after (8th and 9th William III. c. 24.) to continue till the 1ſt of February 1699, without any exception as to Iriſh linen, that article became liable to this new duty; and from the ſtate of the war in 1698, it was probable that this ſubſidy would be renewed, as it accordingly was from time to time, and continued for the life of Queen Anne; it may therefore be conjectured that the great wiſh of Ireland as to her linen trade then was, a reſtoration to the exemption granted by the firſt-mentioned act, ſo as again to open a free market for her linens in England.

That was not obtained during the remainder of William's reign; but early in the next, by 1 Ann. ſt. 2. c. 8. the importation of Iriſh linen into this country duty free was reſtored, and that has continued to be the law ever ſince.

Is it not therefore probable that Ireland was ſatisfied with this freedom of importing her linen goods, exempt from duty, into Great Britain? At leaſt the caſe certainly ſtands ſo on the face of the Acts of Parliament; and

[b] Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. xii. p. 339. 2d July 1698.

beſides

beſides what I have already mentioned to ſhew that they are the only ſure evidence on ſuch a ſubject, have we not ſufficient reaſon, from the almoſt inextricable diſcuſſions which the hiſtory of what paſſed in both countries in 1782 has given riſe to[b], to avoid recurring for ſupplementary proof of I know not what implied equitable or underſtood conditions and ſtipulations, to anecdotes, harangues, or even entries which may be found on the Journals of either kingdom, but which gave riſe to no legiſlative proceeding?

The Iriſh act, which was only temporary, expired in 1702, and was not renewed; but a very ſtrong, and certainly harſh act, and not temporary, was paſſed in England (10th and 11th Will. III. c. 10.) totally prohibiting the exportation of Iriſh woollens to any foreign country. The power of the Engliſh Parliament to make ſuch a law was at that time ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon in this country, and, if not acknowledged, at leaſt acquieſced under in Ireland; ſo that this laſt-mentioned ſtatute did in effect prevent the export to all foreign parts, of Iriſh woollen cloths.

While this continued to be the caſe, it might have been unjuſt, and a breach of faith in England or Great Britain, to impoſe any duty, which might have cramped or injured the exportation of Iriſh linens, either to this or to foreign countries; but that has been ſo far from being done, even to this day, that, on the contrary, beſides the continuation of the free import, various Britiſh acts have given the ſame bounties to Iriſh as to Britiſh linens exported from hence; and by the impoſition of a heavy tax on

[b] The ground taken by the opponents of a Union, has rendered thoſe diſcuſſions, in regard to the tranſactions of that period, unavoidable.

foreign

foreign linens brought into Great Britain, ſhe gives in that reſpect alſo an equal premium to the Iriſh as to her own manufacture. The bounty paid from the revenue of Great Britain on Iriſh linens exported has been computed to be, upon an average, upwards of 34,000*l.*

But does the condition on the part of Ireland ſtill continue? Is her part of the ſuppoſed compact ſtill in force; and did ſhe, when Great Britain renounced the claim to bind her by her ſtatutes, renew by any law of her own, the prohibition of the exportation of her woollens? Quite the contrary. Before the boaſted æra of her independency, in the year 1779 and 1780, ſhe had wiſely, boldly, and ſucceſsfully addreſſed to the Britiſh Government and Parliament her complaint, that this reſtriction was injurious to the induſtry and proſperity of her people; and by the Britiſh act of 20 George III. c. 6. the ſtatute of William III. was repealed; and a free exportation of her woollens allowed from Ireland to all foreign places.

It is the natural, obvious, and juſt obſervation of a writer on this ſubject, that 'This law, of courſe, put 'an end to the compact between England and Ireland, 'reſpecting the woollen and linen manufactures[b].' This country has indeed ſtill continued her encouragement to the Iriſh linen trade, the free entry into Great Britain, and the bounties on exportation from thence; but ſhe has done ſo voluntarily, and without any tie, contract, or other obligation, but what the general principles of good policy may impoſe. One is therefore a good deal ſurpriſed to read in the addreſs of a gentleman in Ireland, peculiarly diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge in ſuch matters, to his conſtituents, the following words:

[b] Continuation of Anderſon's Hiſt. of Commerce, vol. iv. p. 287.

'If

'If the linen manufactory reſts at all on any compact, 'that compact was made with the Iriſh Parliament; the ex-'tinction of which takes away a ſecurity we have found ade-'quate, and leaves it without the protection of its natural 'guardians[a].'

According to the ſame addreſs we are to believe, it ſeems, that as the compact in 1698 was and is the ſecurity for the linen trade of Ireland with Great Britain, ſo the more ſolemn and important compact of 1782, not only ſupplied a new guarantee to that ſecurity, by confirming to the former the birthright of a ſole[b] and independent Parliament, but alſo, by the ſame means, rouſed a *new* ſpirit of exertion in the traders and manufacturers in general of that kingdom, while a legiſlative Union would at once deſtroy the independence of the Parliament, becauſe it would be no lon-

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Addreſs to the Freeholders of the County of Louth, 15th January 1799. The actual exiſtence of ſuch a compact has been more ſtrongly and directly aſſerted ſince. 'Britain is bound in every in-'ſtance to encourage our linen trade by compact, ſo ſtrongly manifeſt in 'the proceedings of both Parliaments, as cannot be denied.' Mr. *Foſter*'s 'Speech' p. 83.

[b] It appears to me that the word '*ſole*' may bear a ſenſe materially different as uſed in this addreſs, and as it ſtands in that of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons in 1782, to which this refers. The words of this addreſs to the electors of Louth are: 'The Houſe of Commons ſtated to his Majeſty in '1782, that the very eſſence of our liberties exiſts in the right of a *ſole Le-'giſlature*, the Parliament of Ireland.' This conveys to me the idea of a legiſlature which ſolely has juriſdiction over Ireland. The addreſs of 1782 ſays, 'Ireland is a diſtinct kingdom with a Parliament of her own, *the ſole* '*legiſlature* thereof.' This only expreſſes, as I underſtand it, that the Iriſh Parliament alone, without any concurrent right elſewhere, was the legiſlature of Ireland, without implying that that Parliament cannot be incorporated with that of Great Britain.

ger ſolely Iriſh, extinguiſh the ſpirit which had been awakened, and remove every ſafeguard of permanence to whatever advantages it might hold out as a temptation to thoſe weak and deluded perſons who might ignorantly form any opinion in its favour.

Much has been ſaid and much written on the ſubject of that tranſaction of 1782. It appears to me chiefly of importance, now, in as far as it may afford evidence of what the opinions were which eminent ſtateſmen on both ſides of the water then entertained, many of whom muſt be ſtill anxious to have thoſe opinions rightly underſtood. But, if their preſent ſentiments correſpond with what they formerly thought, this uniformity will be a ſtrong argument in favour of thoſe ſentiments, and, in that point of view, it becomes certainly a matter of public concern alſo, to aſcertain what they were. Whatever they were, however, they are not binding upon them; much leſs upon us, or upon either the Iriſh or Britiſh Parliament. Nay, no act of either Parliament of that time, would be binding on thoſe of the preſent day; and therefore had each Legiſlature ſeparately declared that they meant the arrangement, then made, to be ſuch a final adjuſtment of all relations between the two countries, as that no nearer and more intimate connexion, no legiſlative Union in a word, ſhould ever be formed between them, that declaration would not be obligatory now, nor ſtand in the way of the two preſent Legiſlatures entering upon, and, if for the benefit of both nations, concluding ſuch a legiſlative Union. I am unwilling to go far into the controverſy on the circumſtances of that buſineſs. Others, in all reſpects more competent, have diſcuſſed it at large, and it will probably be ſtill farther elucidated this night.

But

But I think I can prove that nothing which appears on the records, or uſual reports of the proceedings in Parliament, or on the face of the thing, ſhows that either party meant, on that occaſion, to ſhut out in future all queſtion of Union, but quite otherwiſe; that the progreſſive improvement in the trade, manufactures, and general proſperity of Ireland ſince, has not been owing to that tranſaction; that this proſperity is not ſecured by it; that it depends in a very principal degree on the policy and wiſdom of Great Britain; and that the only certain ſafeguard of its permanence would be found in that very meaſure, which it is pretended would have the contrary effect.

There were four grievances then ſtated on the part of Ireland: one and the principal of which was the claim of the Britiſh Parliament to a legiſlative power over that kingdom.

The meſſages from the Throne to both Parliaments mentioned 'the King's concern to find that diſcontents and jea-'louſies were prevailing *in matters of great weight and im-'portance*; and recommended that *the ſame* ſhould be ta-'ken into conſideration, in order to ſuch a *final* adjuſtment[a] 'as might give mutual ſatisfaction to both kingdoms[b].'

The addreſſes of the Iriſh Houſes ſpecified the four grievances, 'as the principal cauſes of the preſent diſcontent 'and jealouſy' of that country. The only one of the four

[a] Of what, in God's name? Surely, of theſe matters of weight and importance, on which jealouſies and diſcontents were then prevailing.

[b] 9th April 1782.—16th April 1782.

which a Britiſh act could redreſs, was the claim of legiſlation.

On the 17th of May a reſolution was come to in this Houſe, that the act aſſerting that claim ſhould be repealed, and immediately afterwards another, declaring it to be 'indiſpenſable to the intereſts of both kingdoms that the connexion between them ſhould be eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent on a ſolid and permanent baſis.'

This laſt reſolution, and the addreſs by which it was communicated to his Majeſty, both conſidered by themſelves and in the connexion of this with the other reſolution which preceded, have given riſe to a great deal of what I muſt take the liberty to call ingenious cavil and chicane. The Right Honourable Gentleman who moved the reſolutions, now propoſed to be carried to the foot of the Throne, in mentioning that addreſs of 1782, had expreſſed what he had endeavourcd to prove to be its true import and meaning, viz. 'that his Majeſty would take *farther* meaſures to ſtrengthen the connexion between the two countries;' on which it has been remarked, with a hypercritical nicety, that the *word* 'farther' is not in the addreſs.—Neither, I believe, is the word 'ſtrengthen.' But the point is, whether the *meaning* was not, that meaſures ulterior to thoſe then propoſed were in the contemplation of the Houſe when it came to the reſolution and voted the addreſs—I ſay they clearly were. What is the argument triumphantly preſſed to ſhew the contrary? Why, that the *reſolution* and *addreſs* were voted *before* the *bill* for repealing the declaratory act of George I. and renouncing the claim to bind Ireland, was preſented[a]. Surely, Sir, this is a ſtrange fallacy.

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 19.

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The Miniſter of the day, when he moved the two reſolutions, is ſtated to have introduced them by a ſpeech mentioning the four grievances of Ireland, the claim of legiſlation, Poyning's act, the mutiny bill, and the appellate juriſdiction. The firſt, he ſaid, was to be redreſſed here, the others by acts to which the Lord Lieutenant was to be inſtructed to give the royal aſſent in Ireland; and *after* having explained this clearly and forcibly, he proceeded to expreſs himſelf to the following effect:

'That Ireland could have no reaſon to complain; the 'terms acceded to by England, were propoſed by herſelf; 'the manner of redreſs had been preſcribed by herſelf, and 'all her wiſhes would now be gratified in the way which ſhe 'herſelf liked beſt: but as it was poſſible, that if nothing '*more was to be done, than what he had ſtated to be his intention*, Ireland might perhaps think of freſh grievances, 'and riſe yearly in her demands, *it was fit and proper that 'ſomething ſhould be now done towards eſtabliſhing on a firm 'and ſolid baſis the future connexion of the two kingdoms.* 'But that was not to be propoſed by him here in Parliament; 'it would be the duty of the Crown to look to that; the 'buſineſs might be firſt begun by his Majeſty's ſervants in 'Ireland; and if afterwards it ſhould be neceſſary to enter 'into a treaty, commiſſioners might be ſent from the Britiſh Parliament, or from the Crown, to enter upon it, 'and bring the negotiation to a happy iſſue, by giving mutual ſatisfaction to both countries, and eſtabliſhing a treaty which ſhould be ſanctioned by the moſt ſolemn forms 'of the conſtitutions of both[a].'

[a] Mr. *Fox*'s Speech, 17th May 1782, Parliamentary Regiſter, vol. vii. p. 172.

Is

Is it poſſible, after reading this, which there is no reaſon to believe to be an inaccurate report as to the ſubſtance of what the Right Honourable Gentleman ſaid, that it can be imagined or ſeriouſly argued that no ulterior, no *farther* meaſures were then in his contemplation and in that of the Miniſtry, whoſe organ he was, and of which he formed ſo eminent a part?

This difficulty ſeems indeed to have been a little felt, and therefore another method is attempted of reconciling to what really then paſſed, the idea that all political or conſtitutional arrangements were meant by the parties to this buſineſs of 1782 to be finally cloſed, ſo as that this country could never, with good faith, agitate in future, or propoſe to Ireland for her conſideration and voluntary adoption or rejection, any thing of that ſort. 'The fact,' we are told, 'ſeems to be, that the reſolution, in reſpect to *future* meaſures, (where is the mighty difference between *future* and '*farther?*) had *commerce only* in view[c].' But, Sir, what does the ſame Miniſter ſay on that point? He is ſtated to have declared in this Houſe, in 1785, 'That *no idea of a* '*commercial regulation* had been entertained by the adminiſtration of 1782, in propoſing the reſolution in queſtion[d].'

After the Duke of Portland communicated the two reſolutions of 1782 to the Iriſh Houſe of Commons[e], and informed them alſo of the King's diſpoſition to give his aſſent to bills to be paſſed there for redreſſing the other grievances,

[c] Mr. *Foſter's* Speech, p. 21.

[d] Mr. *Fox's* Speech, 22d July 1785. Parliamentary Regiſter, vol. xviii. p. 577.

[e] 17th May 1782.

they

they aſſure his Majeſty, in a new addreſs, 'That, gratified in thoſe particulars, *no conſtitutional queſtion* between the two 'nations *will any longer exiſt*, which can interrupt their harmony [a].'

In the anſwer to this, the King told them 'that this declaration was very pleaſing to him [b].'

At the cloſe of the ſeſſion, the Commons ſay to the Lord Lieutenant, 'We ſhall have ſeen this great national arrangement (the ſole and excluſive right of legiſlation in 'that Parliament) eſtabliſhed on a baſis which ſecures the 'tranquillity of Ireland, and unites the affections as well as 'intereſts of both kingdoms [c].'

Laſtly, for I think I have now quoted all the paſſages on which the chief ſtreſs has been laid, his Grace, in his ſpeech on the prorogation, ſays, 'Convince the people in your ſeveral diſtricts, as you yourſelves are convinced, that every 'cauſe of *paſt* jealouſies and diſcontents is *finally* removed; 'that both countries have pledged their good faith to each 'other; and that their beſt ſecurity will be an inviolable 'adherence to that compact: convince them that the two 'kingdoms are now one, indiſſolubly connected in unity 'of conſtitution and unity of intereſts [d].'

Now, Mr. Speaker, I muſt confeſs I cannot ſee any thing in all this but the expreſſion of, firſt, an opinion that the *paſt* cauſes of diſcontent and jealouſy were then *finally* removed; and what has happened to prove that they were not? Has the Parliament of Great Britain renewed her claim to bind Ireland? Has there not been an annual mutiny

[a] 28th May 1782.
[b] 13th June 1782.
[c] 23d July 1782.
[d] 27th July 1782.

act

act in Ireland ever ſince? Has Poyning's law; has the appellate juriſdiction of this country been reſtored? Secondly, a hope, ſomewhat too ſanguine perhaps, that no queſtion on conſtitutional points would any longer exiſt between the two nations. This hope the Iriſh Houſe of Commons expreſſed in the form of an aſſertion, which it would ſeem his Majeſty was no farther adviſed to adopt than by declaring the pleaſure it gave him to find they entertained that belief. But does it follow from thence, that either Parliament meant to preclude themſelves from treating together on any meaſure which the King might recommend, or they think beneficial to both countries? By the phraſe 'conſtitutional queſtions which might interrupt their harmony,' was clearly meant, diſputes and claims on the one part or the other; not propoſals from the one to the other, or from the Sovereign to both, which either might approve or reject as they ſaw fit. Such is the preſent propoſal, which I therefore think they never meant to bind themſelves not to entertain; which they could not conclude us, their ſucceſſors in both kingdoms, from entertaining; which in my conſcience I believe many of the wiſeſt and beſt men in both then hoped might, ſome time or other, be brought forward with ſucceſs; which the ſecond reſolution I have mentioned, as come to by this Houſe, and received with ſatisfaction in Ireland, ſeems in ſome degree to ſuggeſt; and which, when I recollect the reports I have read and heard of the Miniſter's ſpeech who moved thoſe reſolutions, I can never ceaſe thinking his mind was full of on the occaſion[a], till I ſhall learn that he himſelf has declared the contrary.

[a] I do not ſay he had it expreſsly in contemplation then or afterwards to propoſe it. In his ſpeech on the 22d of July 1785, he is reported to have 'ſpoken of the circumſtances of a Union as extremely deſirable.' Parliamentary Regiſter, vol. xviii. p. 344.

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Is it to be taken for granted, that the improvement beyond example which the trade, manufactures, and wealth of the people of Ireland are ſaid to have experienced during the laſt ſixteen or ſeventeen years, muſt be aſcribed to the renunciation by this country of the claim to legiſlate for them? It ſeems very difficult to ſee how a mere negative act of that ſort could poſſibly have ſuch an effect. Had the Britiſh Legiſlature, by its uſurped authority over that country, for many years previous to that time interfered with the internal or external commerce of Ireland? had the Iriſh Parliament been reſtrained from regulating and encouraging that commerce (the export woollen trade excepted) in the way they might think moſt likely to promote its increaſe? or did the abolition of the appeal to the Britiſh Houſe of Lords produce a new influx of Britiſh capital into Ireland?

The great points gained by Ireland from this country as to commerce, have, I believe, hitherto been conſidered to have been the fruit of thoſe ſeveral acts of the Britiſh Parliament in 1779 and 1780[b], of which one has been already obſerved upon, and which firſt opened to her a general freedom of trade, not only with the reſt of the world, but with our American and Weſt India colonies, the beſt mart for her commodities as well as ours. And if the advantages then obtained have been farther improved by the permiſſion to trade with thoſe colonies in every reſpect on the ſame footing as Great Britain does, which was granted in 1793[c]; was the Britiſh act of that

[b] 19 Geo. III. c. 35. 19 Geo. III. c. 37. 20 Geo. III. c. 6. 20 Geo. III. c. 10. 20 Geo. III. c. 18.

[c] 33 Geo. III. c. 65.

year giving ſuch permiſſion a conſequence of what has been called the emancipation of Ireland?

But, Sir, I think ſome here muſt know, and many may recollect to have heard, that Ireland was growing faſt in induſtry, enterpriſe, manufactures, trade, and agriculture, long before either the acknowledgment of her independence, or the grant of what was called a free trade. Indeed I believe it will be found, whatever may have been the cauſe, that all the three kingdoms, and his Majeſty's dominions in general, have flouriſhed with an *accelerated* degree of rapidity in all the branches of national exertion productive of trade and wealth, for a period of about fifty years, to be dated from the time of the general pacification of Europe by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

With regard to Ireland, beſides general memory, I might appeal to the weighty teſtimony recorded by Mr. *Arthur Young*, of the late Lord Chief Baron *Foſter*, in whoſe family an enlightened attention to political economy and the ſources of national proſperity ſeems to be hereditary. In Mr. *Young*'s account of a viſit he paid to that learned perſon during his tour through Ireland in the year 1776, he ſays he gave him a variety of information relative to the ſtate of that country uncommonly valuable, and among other things mentions his having told him, 'that Ireland was more improved in the laſt twenty years 'than in a century before; that the great ſpirit began in '1749 and 1750;' that thirty years before the export of 'linen

[c] *Young*'s Tour in Ireland, vol. i. p. 153. *Agricultural* improvement ſeems to have been a very principal object of Lord Chief Baron *Foſter*'s attention and practice, and the converſations mentioned by Mr. *Young* related in a great degree to that object; it has been lately ſtated, however,

'linen and yarn was only about 500,000*l.* but that it 'was then from 1,200,000*l.* to 1,500,000*l.*'[c]—that is, it had been nearly trebled in that time. By the ſame proportion and progreſs, if only the ſame cauſes which then exiſted, and had produced the great ſpirit mentioned by Lord Chief Baron *Foſter*, had continued to operate, this export would, in ſix or ſeven years hence, amount to four millions and a-half. Now, Sir, with all the ſuppoſed aſſiſtance it has derived from the tranſaction of 1782, when a fair account is taken, it will not be found to have gone on increaſing in that ratio. The annual *rated* value of Iriſh exports of every ſort to all parts of the world, of which proviſions made probably more than one third[d], is ſtated from the official accounts of that country, on an average of the three years ending on the 25th of March 1798, to have been in Iriſh money only 4,642,779*l.*[e] I own therefore I think it much more reaſonable that we ſhould aſcribe the growing improvement of Ireland in the chief article of her manufacture to the ſpirit which began in 1750, and appears to have continued in full force during the interval between that time and the date of Mr. *Young*'s tour, than either to a *new* ſpirit ſaid to have been roufed by the arrangement of 1782, an arrangement which

ever, 'that the riſe of *agriculture* began in Ireland with the conſtitution of 1782.'—Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 195.

[c] *Young*'s Tour, vol. i. p. 151.

[d] By Mr. *Irving*'s Tables, out of 5,612,689*l.* the *true* annual value of all the exports from Ireland to Great Britain on the average of the ſame three years, proviſions, excluſive of corn and live cattle, amounted to 1,954,143*l.*—Accounts laid before the Houſe of Lords, No. 4, 16.

[e] Vide Appendix to Lord *Auckland*'s Speech, No. 9.

difficult taſk for any body to undertake to contend, 'that 'thoſe linens would (to any conſiderable extent) find their 'way here even though there were no duty on the fo-'reign[d]?'

It is indeed ſtated, and I have no doubt correctly, that Iriſh linens have riſen of late not leſs than 35 per cent. above their uſual value[e]. Sir, I have endeavoured to inform myſelf of the cauſes of this extraordinary riſe, and I believe it will be found to be owning partly to the reduced quantity manufactured on the continent, and at the ſame time an increaſed demand in conſequence of the war, and partly to unwiſe and unprofitable ſpeculations occaſioned by that circumſtance. It ſeems the demand for ſhirting for the different armies of Europe has been immenſe, and conſiderable quantities of Iriſh linens have alſo been lately ſent, directly or circuitouſly, to Spain and Portugal, and likewiſe to ſome of our Weſt India iſlands[f], to be exported from thence to South America, as a ſubſtitute for thoſe of German manufacture which uſed to be ſent there, but which are now become too ſcarce to be ſufficient for the ſupply of that market. In confirmation of this, it appears, on inſpecting the Britiſh accounts of imports and exports, that during the two years preceding the preſent, the import of linen from Ireland into this country diminiſhed conſiderably, while the re-exportation increaſed. In 1797, the Iriſh linen imported amounted to 39,868,000 yards, and the re-exportation was but 3,889,830; laſt year the importation was only 35,338,000 yards, and the re-exportation 6,590,456. From the ſame ſources of information, which I believe I may ſtate to be as authentic, both mercantile

[d] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 89. [e] Ibid.

[f] In conſequence of permiſſions granted by the government of this country about a year and a half ago to open a commercial communication between ſome of thoſe iſlands and the Spaniſh continent.

and

and official, as can be obtained, I learn that foreign linens, particularly thoſe which are uſed for the ſame purpoſes with the Iriſh, have riſen in their price nearly in the ſame proportion with them; if they have not riſen quite ſo much, this is aſcribed to the unthrifty and hazardous ſpeculations I have mentioned.

But let us take it the other way, and ſuppoſe the 25 per cent. duty to be extended to the Iriſh linen. Will it be ſaid, that ſuch a burden on the trade to this country in that article, would not put a ſtop to it? Will it be ſo ſaid, by thoſe who have very juſtly remarked, that a ſmaller charge of 20 per cent. on its general export, entirely 'put 'down the woollen trade of Ireland[c]?' If it would not put a ſtop to it, Ireland is certainly obliged to Great Britain for her generoſity or rather profuſion, in remitting to her an annual duty it ſeems ſhe could afford to pay of from half a million to a milling ſterling.

In an account produced to the Houſe of Lords by that very able and accurate officer the Inſpector General, the true value of all the products and manufactures of Ireland imported into this country, on the average of the three years preceding the 5th of January laſt, is ſtated at about five millions and a half[d], while that of the exports of the ſame ſort, from hence to Ireland, amounted to little above two[e]; the exceſs being near three millions and a half[f]. On the groſs view, therefore, of this ſort of debtor and creditor account, Ireland appears to be a gainer to that amount, in conſequence of the preſent commercial code,

[c] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 83.

[d] 5,510,825*l.*
[e] 2,087,672*l.*
[f] 3,425,153*l.*
} Accounts laid before the Houſe of Lords, No. 15.

not

not of that, but of this country. There are, I believe, conſiderable differences between the Iriſh and Engliſh official details on theſe ſubjects, and any minutely exact computation of the true value cannot be expected. But it will alſo be admitted, that there is great reliance to be had on the accounts which come from Mr. *Irving*'s office; and it is well known that he has taken much pains of late to get at the actual value of all the exports and imports of Great Britain. I am therefore inclined to think that the above may be taken, for the purpoſes of the preſent argument, as ſufficiently correct.

By a ſimilar account of the ſame officer, alſo preſented to the Lords, the true value of the total imports from Ireland into this country, was, on the like average, 5,612,689 *l.*; that of the exports from hence thither, 3,555,845 *l*; leaving, on this compariſon, not ſo great an exceſs indeed, but ſtill an apparent balance of 2,056,844 *l.* in favour of Ireland [d].

But we are told [e], that upon a proper examination of the articles which compoſe the groſs ſums in theſe accounts, the real balance will be found to be much in favour of Great Britain.

To make this out, the objects of the mutual trade of the two kingdoms are claſſed under the three heads of, 1. manufactures; 2. raw materials, &c.; and, 3. foreign articles. The particulars are then arranged in ſuch a manner as to make it appear, 1ſt, that Ireland takes from Great Britain to the amount of 14,000 *l.* a

[d] Accounts laid before the Houſe of Lords, No. 16.

[e] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 80.

year

year more, under the firſt head, than Great Britain does from her; 2d, that ſhe ſupplies Britain with an exceſs of raw materials, including articles of prime neceſſity, to the amount of no leſs than 2,463,447*l.*: and, 3d, that the exceſs of the foreign articles exported from this country into Ireland, over the ſimilar imports from thence into this country, is 1,366,309*l.*

This is a very different method of ſtating the caſe from what has been uſual, at leaſt as far as I have been able to inform myſelf. I certainly feel how unequal I am to enter the liſts on points of this ſort with the Gentleman who has thus ſtated it on the preſent occaſion; but I have endeavoured, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe who are more accuſtomed to ſuch matters than I pretend to be, to aſcertain whether the right clue might not be found to this ſeeming refutation of the hitherto received opinion, that the profitable balance is very greatly in favour of Ireland. I think it may, and I will attempt to explain myſelf in regard to it, in the beſt manner I can.

1. To the amount of Britiſh manufactures taken off by Ireland, which, by Mr. *Irving*'s tables, is but 1,640,195*l.* have been added all the articles brought either from our American colonies or the Eaſt Indies, the value of which is not leſs than 970,000*l.*[d]

'Much of this,' we are told, 'is real manufactures, and 'that the reſt may be deemed ſo, on account of the employ 'of labour in the colony, and of the ſhipping[e].'

[d] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 80.

[e] Scarcely any part of the goods brought from the Weſt Indies and America can be conſidered as ſuch.

[f] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, ibid.

But ſurely it can never be intended ſeriouſly to maintain, that Great Britain profits as much by the induſtry, ſkill, and labour employed by the people of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies in manufacturing for the uſe of theſe kingdoms their own raw materials, as Ireland does by thoſe of her inhabitants engaged in her domeſtic fabrics. Indeed, as to the Britiſh Weſt Indian and American colonies, it ſeems to me that, ſince a full participation in the trade with them has been opened to Ireland, the opulence acquired by manufactures or otherwiſe in thoſe parts of the Britiſh dominions, in as far as it is not to be conſidered as merely local, merely Weſt Indian or American, is to be reckoned not Britiſh more than Iriſh, but imperial; and this is alſo true as to the Eaſt Indies, ſuppoſing the Iriſh act of 1793[a] to have ſecured to Ireland as great a ſhare of commercial intercourſe with that country as ſhe had in any way the means of carrying on; a ſuppoſition more than warranted by the little or rather I believe no uſe ſhe has made of the privileges ſince ſhe obtained it.

With regard to the ſhipping, undoubtedly Great Britain is a gainer by carrying the Eaſt and Weſt India articles required for the conſumption of Ireland. But could Ireland, all circumſtances conſidered, obtain thoſe articles ſo beneficially in any other way? Her own tonnage is not equal to the carriage of her own produce and manufactures to this country; and in the preſent ſtate of things, even the reſt of Europe is almoſt entirely ſupplied by Great Britain, notwithſtanding the protection the naval commerce of ſeveral other ſtates derives from their neutrality. When to theſe conſiderations we add the immenſe variety of channels of a more advantageous nature, in a mercantile view, in which

[a] Iriſh acts, 33 Geo. III. c. 31.

it

it is well known that the Britiſh capital veſted in this branch of her carrying trade might be employed, we ſhall not eaſily be perſuaded to place whatever gain ariſes from it to the credit ſide of Ireland, in ſettling accounts between that country and this.

2. Under the general head of raw materials, &c. exported from Ireland, have been included, by the deſcription of articles of prime neceſſity, beef, butter, pork, corn, and other proviſions; Iriſh linen yarn is alſo claſſed under this head; while cheeſe, fiſh, ſuch as cod and herrings, &c. and raw ſilk and cotton yarn, are articles claſſed as manufactures among the Britiſh exports.

But in compariſons of this ſort, the expreſſion of 'raw 'materials' has been generally uſed to ſignify matters which conſtitute the baſis of a manufacture, and contribute thereby much more to the wealth of the country to which they are carried, and where they are worked up, than in their rude ſtate they had done to that of the country ſupplying them. In this ſenſe beef, corn, &c. cannot with any propriety be ranked under that deſcription; they add nothing to the wealth of the country importing them; they continue juſt worth the price at firſt paid for them [d], and in the caſe under our conſideration, if not obtained from Ireland, the ſame capital would probably procure them elſewhere, or might be directed to the production of them at home.

3. Although the ſum of 970,000*l.* by the title of colonial goods, had been added under the firſt of theſe three heads

[d] We are not here to reckon the mere mercantile profit they may afford in their unaltered ſtate; the price paid for them would have furniſhed a like profit employed in any other way, and will, having been ſo employed, furniſh a like profit to the ſeller.

to the amount of British manufactures exported to Ireland, it is here retained to make up the gross sum of 1,468,173*l.* as the value of foreign articles taken by Ireland from Great Britain, and is thus twice charged against this country: this has clearly happened by mistake, though it makes a most material difference indeed in the result.

But it is said 'the excess of gain to Great Britain must 'appear prodigious, if we consider that of all that gross sum 'of near a million and a half, only 407,000*l.* is East India 'trade; and that what remains, to the value of above a 'million, is open to be imported direct to Ireland, were she 'obliged or *inclined* to import it so[a].' Undoubtedly it is open to her; but if she could do it to advantage, will any man who knows the nature of trade suppose, that she would not have the *inclination*, but would suffer Great Britain to gain from her what she does by thus acting as her carrier? The truth is, she wants shipping and capital, what she has being necessarily occupied to better advantage, or for more necessary purposes; and such being the case, can we in fairness be required to set this down as a benefit which Great Britain holds at the good-will of her sister kingdom?

Thus, Sir, I think we must still retain the belief hitherto so prevalent with the generality of those in both countries, who have most deeply considered such matters, that in their commercial intercourse the balance between them is greatly in favour of Ireland; and it follows of course, that Ireland, in the present relative situation of the two kingdoms, must depend entirely on the policy and wisdom of the British Parliament for the continuance of what-

[a] Mr. *Foster*'s Speech, p. 81.

ever

ever part of her general proſperity ſhe derives from that ſource.

This indeed is ſometimes[a] admitted: it is admitted that Great Britain, by what is called a war of duties and prohibitions, might injure Ireland for a time; of this America, it is ſaid, affords ample proof; but that Britain herſelf muſt ſuffer in ſuch a conteſt, and that her wiſdom, her liberality, and her own intereſt will forbid her entering into ſuch hoſtilities. I entirely agree in the poſition that it is not only liberal, but wiſe, and for her own advantage, that the preſent ſyſtem ſhould be perſevered in by this country, though I regret that America ſhould have been unneceſſarily mentioned, and this at the very time, and as it were with the ſame breath with which the Right Hon. Gentleman who has propoſed a Union, was in my opinion moſt unjuſtly accuſed of holding out *threats* to induce Ireland to accede to it. Alas! Sir, have we then no inſtances where the wiſeſt nations have departed from the line of ſound policy, and by the operation of various cauſes on the natural frailty of human counſels and conduct, adopted meaſures at once injurious to themſelves and their neighbours; or is wiſdom of conduct to be the poſſeſſion in perpetuity—the excluſive right—of all the ſucceſſive Adminiſtrations and Parliaments which, in all times to come, are to hold the reins of government, and exerciſe the functions of legiſlation in Great Britain? Should the principles which now prevail on commercial ſubjects loſe their influence; ſhould diſputes, paſſion, and animoſity, ever take their place in adjuſting the relations of trade between the two iſlands; to what binding laws, to what inviolable treaty can Ireland

[a] Mr. *Foſter's* Speech, p. 90, 91.

appeal?

appeal? or what will then avail towards compelling the admiſſion of her commodities into the Britiſh ports and markets, or the exportation of what ſhe may want from thence, her own Parliament, the ſuppoſed adequate guardian of her trade, its vigilance, its regulations, and its bounties? Will the independence and diſtinctneſs of that Parliament be able to ward off the blow, which on ſuch a ſuppoſition may be aimed at her proſperity, when ſhe ſhall have ſhut her ears to that warning voice which now calls upon her to liſten to the ſalutary meaſure by which alone ſhe can be really and completely ſecured againſt the poſſibility of ſuch an evil?

We are, it is true, too apt to think, when we think ſuperficially, that our deſcendants will never relapſe into errors ſimilar to thoſe of our forefathers, from which we have eſcaped; and that what appears right and wiſe to us, muſt be thought ſo by them. But does experience confirm this opinion? Thoſe who have attended to the great and numerous fluctuations of ſyſtem in our national policy foreign and domeſtic, will, I believe, decide otherwiſe.

> We think our fathers fools, ſo wiſe we grow;
> Our wiſer ſons, no doubt, will think us ſo—

is the ſenſible, though perhaps not very poetical reflection of a great and ſagacious poet. Have we not heard the obſolete notion of making Ireland a Britiſh garriſon, revived in this Houſe, and from a moſt reſpectable quarter? On the preſent occaſion it was indeed, I think, a ſingle, and, if the Hon. Gentleman will pardon the expreſſion, a ſingular opinion; but a change of times and circumſtances may perhaps render it leſs ſo. I dread to reflect on the poſſibility

of

of its ever becoming reaſonable; thoſe, however, who will have to determine, may think it ſo, when the ſentiments of none of us can have any ſhare in the deliberation.

What was the caſe of Scotland? every body muſt now admit that, being under the ſame king, who was alſo head of both Parliaments, and with the rules of ſucceſſion to the crown (till the Revolution) the ſame in both kingdoms, it would have been the intereſt of England to have encouraged the trade of Scotland, and conferred upon her every favour that could have tended to increaſe her proſperity. But how different was the conduct ſhe actually held to her? Was the Parliament of Scotland leſs independent than the Iriſh Parliament has been ſince 1782? and does it not appear from hiſtory that Scotland was to the full as deſirous, had ſhe had the means of eſtabliſhing a national commerce, and rivalling in her proportion the trade and manufactures of the neighbouring kingdom, as Ireland can now poſſibly be to retain and augment thoſe which ſhe at preſent poſſeſſes?

In 1785, thoſe perſons in Ireland who in my opinion had the beſt knowledge of her intereſts, did not think the advantages ſhe then enjoyed from her commercial connexion with Great Britain, were ſufficiently ſafe under the ſhield of Britiſh acts and Britiſh policy; 'they wiſhed to have 'the ſecurity of a legiſlative compact[a],' and this country was deſirous to give them that ſecurity, in as binding and permanent a form as was compatible with the exiſtence of diſtinct Legiſlatures. The miſtaken jealouſy of ſpeculative independence defeated the plan. It is now propoſed to give

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 87.

them

them a legiſlative ſecurity of a much more binding nature, one as indiſſoluble as human wiſdom can deviſe or imagine; but we are now told by ſome of the ſtrongeſt advocates for the much more imperfect meaſure of that year, even in reſpect to commerce, that a compact by Union, to diſſolve which no legitimate authority would any longer exiſt in either country, would be a meaſure pregnant with danger and miſchief to Iriſh trade and manufactures[d]. Sir, with what ſucceſs the conſiſtency of theſe ſentiments has been contended for, I ſhall leave to others to determine; it is now, it ſeems, thought ſafeſt ſolely to truſt to 'a connexion riveted on the intereſts, the ſentiments, and the affections 'of both nations, and thoſe rivets cloſed and kept firm by 'the regulations of 1782[e].'

Some admit that there are commercial benefits ſtill left for Great Britain to beſtow; that a perfectly free communication between the two iſlands, a complete interchange of commodities of all ſorts, without the charge of any kind of duty in their tranſit from the one to the other, would greatly redound to the advantage of Ireland; that ſhe would then ſend more manufactured goods to Great Britain than ſhe yet does, and receive a greater quantity and variety of raw materials from thence. But then it is aſked, why ſhould not this country complete her ſyſtem of liberality to the ſiſter kingdom? That is in one moment called liberality, which in another is deſcribed as mere ſelfiſhneſs, or an unwilling ranſom extorted by intimidation. Why ſhould ſhe not grant to Ireland, without the condition of a Union, what by benefiting her muſt alſo benefit herſelf?

[d] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 91.
[e] Ibid, p. 109. Vide alſo p. 48. 51. 55. 63.

Others

Others however tell us, that if the Britiſh miniſter were to aſk them what farther trade could be opened? what new manufactures promoted? their anſwer would be, 'You can give us nothing, and our only requeſt on the 'part of Ireland is, that you will let us alone[a].'

Both theſe grounds are taken by different perſons in arguments againſt a Union, and for the purpoſe of proving that Ireland either ought to obtain, or, if ſhe has already obtained, ought for ever to be permitted to poſſeſs every poſſible benefit of trade ſhe can derive from this kingdom, without our propoſing that ſhe ſhould agree to that meaſure; that is, agree to a ſettlement which, while it would afford the only permanent ſecurity for thoſe benefits, would, in my opinion, at the ſame time confer others of a ſtill more important nature than any commercial advantage whatever, both on that country and on this.

With that opinion, I do not ſcruple to ſay, in regard to ſuch commercial boons as may ſtill be left in the power of Great Britain, that I would not be haſty to part with them if there were any chance that a belief that they can only be acquired through a Union might work in its favour on the ſelfiſh tempers of thoſe who overlook the many more weighty political reaſons for its adoption.

As to the advantages which have already been granted, though it may be true that, in contributing to the proſperity of Ireland, they alſo promote that of the whole empire, of which ſhe forms ſo material a part; what if the machinations of foreign and domeſtic enemies,—the ſuggeſtions of ill-directed national vanity,—the exaggerated

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 77.

and miſtaken principle of independence,—and the reſtleſs and proſelytical ſpirit of democracy, ſhould ſucceed in tearing aſunder this mighty limb from the imperial body; would it, in ſuch caſe, be ſtill for the intereſt of Great Britain to continue the laws by which thoſe advantages have been beſtowed?

Sir, I do not like to purſue this train of reflection; but I am ſatisfied, for many reaſons which I think muſt occur to all who hear me, and of which ſome have been lately ſtated in another place with irreſiſtible ſtrength and perſpicuity of argument, that thoſe cauſes are at this moment operating, ſome of them open and avowed, others more ſilent, and ſcarcely perceptible to the very perſons actuated by them, but all with ſuch increaſing energy, that if a Union does not ſoon take place, a ſeparation unfortunate to Great Britain and ruinous to Ireland certainly will.

I have already mentioned my perſuaſion, that the people of Ireland will in time, after a really final ſettlement of the connexion and relations between the two countries by an incorporating Union, experience the advantages of a communication of Engliſh capital and credit. This poſition, when ſtated by much more weighty authority, has been treated, I find, as 'a fooliſh, abſurd, futile, and unſupported aſſertion.' How this ſelection of epithets ſhould have been ſo made and applied by a perſon of known judgment, good temper, and urbanity, it is not my buſineſs to inquire; but I think the aſſertion, which by the by, as it related to what may be expected to happen, was an aſſertion only of opinion and belief, may be conſidered as ap-

* *Mr. Foſter's* Speech, p. 68. 76.

proaching

proaching as nearly to a prediction of the truth as any thing can do, which mere human foreſight may conjecture and pronounce concerning future conſequences and events. Is much argument neceſſary to convince us that monied men will be more ready than at preſent to lend their capital on landed ſecurity, or to pledge their credit by partnerſhips in trade and manufactures in that country, after it ſhall poſſeſs a ſteady uniformity of government,—the ſame legiſlature with themſelves,—an eſtabliſhed conformity of legal deciſions to thoſe whereby their property is regulated and ſecured at home,—internal peace and habitual induſtry?

But a detail is gone into to ſhew that Engliſh money is not likely to be tranſported to Ireland and veſted there, either in trade or manufactures.

If I underſtand the general ſcope of that detail, and if I do not, it muſt be owing to the little familiarity I have with ſuch ſubjects, it is this: 1ſt, A Union will not carry over Engliſh capital to be employed in the manufactory in Ireland of any of the great articles of conſumption with which we now ſupply that country, viz. woollens, cotton, goods, iron, and pottery, becauſe England has advantages for thoſe fabrics not to be found in Ireland, which will always render them ſo much cheaper in the former country, that the Iriſh conſumer will rather import them from thence, than buy them as made at home. 2d, Neither will a Union induce the Engliſh capitaliſt to eſtabliſh ſuch manufactures in Ireland for exportation to foreign markets, becauſe thoſe foreign markets have been long as open to Ireland as they can be after a Union, and yet no ſuch eſtabliſhments have taken place. 3d, As it will not carry over Engliſh capital

to eſtabliſh, either for Iriſh conſumption or foreign export, thoſe manufactures in which Britain excels Ireland; neither will it attract it to that manufacture in which Ireland underſells Great Britain, namely, the linen; 'for though that 'manufactory has been free and proſperous in Ireland for 'theſe ninety years, and has afforded many great fortunes 'to the induſtrious who have engaged in it, yet hardly 'any Britiſh capital has ſettled in it[a].'

Permit me, Sir, to examine ſhortly how theſe different points are made out.

'Iron and pottery,' it is ſaid, 'depend ſo totally on plen-'ty and cheapneſs of fuel, that they exiſt only in the coal 'countries, and have never known, even in England, to 'make what can be called a ſettlement at any diſtance from 'a plentiful colliery. In the pottery too, the flint and clay 'which are ſo abundant in England, have not been found in 'any quantity in Ireland, and in fact there is not a ſingle 'pottery in Ireland. It is ſelf-evident, therefore, that theſe 'manufactures never can travel from the country which 'has coal, to that which has it not—from Britain to Ire-'land;—and the ſame facility of fuel muſt give to Britain 'a decided preference in all manufactures where ſteam en-'gines cheapen the price of labour. Woollens, though 'eſtabliſhed for centuries in Yorkſhire, have never travel-'led in any direction ten miles from the coal country, and 'they are manufactured there to ſuch advantage over Ire-'land, that England ſupplies her to the value of near '600,000*l.* a year, though burdened with an import duty

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 75.

'of

'of more than 8 per cent. And as to cottons, machinery 'being more uſed in this manufactory than in the others, 'the Iriſh cannot, even on the eaſtern coaſt oppoſite the 'Britiſh collieries, make cotton twiſt within at leaſt 20 per 'cent. as cheap as Britain can ſupply them. In Britain, 'during the continuance of *Arkwright*'s patent, this fabric 'was ſubject to a heavy charge on that account; but though 'ſuch excluſive privilege did not exiſt in Ireland, no En-'gliſh money was ever employed to fit up his machinery 'there[a].

You will perceive how much ſtreſs is laid in this enumeration of difficulties on the circumſtance of fuel. But let us not take it for granted, either that cheapneſs of fuel is ſo indiſpenſable a requiſite to cheapneſs of manufacture, even in the inſtances in queſtion, as that it may not be compenſated for by other circumſtances; or that abundance of coal is a benefit which nature has ſo abſolutely denied to Ireland as ſeems in this part of the argument to have been aſſumed.

Take the caſe of iron: I am informed that ſome of the articles made of that metal which require the greateſt conſumption of coals, for example anchors, are manufactured in this metropolis, where fuel is, I believe, dearer than in almoſt any other part of the kingdom. Labour is alſo dearer here than in moſt of the other ſea-port towns, to which thoſe anchors are to be ſent. Yet other circumſtances having occaſioned the employment of the capital, and the cultivation of the ſkill neceſſary for that buſineſs in this place, it ſeems that it can be carried on, on the whole, to more advantage here than where both coals and labour are much

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 68, 69, 70, 72, 73.

cheaper.

cheaper. The importance of the cheapneſs of fuel to the manufacturing of other commodities made of iron, is much over-rated; it is certainly a very material circumſtance in regard to coarſer articles; but it will be found, by conſulting the proper documents, that four-fifths of the goods made of iron, which are annually exported from Great Britain to Ireland and other parts of the world, conſiſt of goods in the manufacture of which the price of coals has hardly any perceptible effect: the principal value of thoſe goods is derived from the ſkill and labour of the artiſan; but labour is alſo dearer in the places where they are made, chiefly Birmingham and Sheffield, than in moſt parts of the world. The only advantage therefore Great Britain poſſeſſes as to ſuch articles ariſes from the ſuperior ſkill, expertneſs, and celerity of the workman. But with the encouragement which a new ſtate of things would hold out to the Iriſh manufacturers, is it to be doubted that they will attain to an equality in thoſe reſpects with thoſe of this country*?

The ſtatement as to the woollen goods made in Great Britain, would lead an inattentive perſon to to ſuppoſe that this manufacture was almoſt entirely confined to York-

* I am informed that the city of Liege affords a ſtriking example of the ſmall relative importance of cheapneſs of fuel and labour, to the ſucceſs of the moſt valuable manufactures in iron. That city had been for many ages noted for thoſe manufactures; coals may be dug almoſt at the very gates of the town, and at a very trifling expenſe, as the veins are to be found within a few feet of the ſurface, and there is hardly any part of the continent where proviſions are cheaper and more abundant; yet Birmingham and Sheffield now underſell Liege in thoſe very manufactures for which ſhe had been long ſo famous, with the exception of a very few articles, at the rate of not leſs than from 15 to 25 per cent.

ſhire.

ſhire. That county, or rather a circuit within that county of not more than ten miles every way, is called its 'old and great ſettlement*.' But the fact is, that the trade there, though certainly very extenſive, is confined chiefly to the coarſer kind of cloths, while the principal ſeat of the manufactory of fine cloths, as well as of the light and fancy woollen goods, is in a part of England where coals are much dearer than in a great many parts of Ireland, namely, at Bradford, Trowbridge, and Chippenham.

The real caſe as to the Iriſh woollen trade, is, that Ireland works up all the wool ſhe produces, though ſhe now only exports to the value of about 12,500*l.* yearly, inſtead of 110,207*l.* her export of that article a century ago, and ſhe receives from this country to the annual amount of 580,723*l.* This is no longer owing to the reſtrictive condition of a compact long ago at an end; nor does it appear that the goods of this material which ſhe does make, are dearer or neceſſarily ſo than thoſe ſhe imports from hence, the quality of each being conſidered;—we are told the true reaſon; it is, 'that agriculture and the linen 'manufactures are found to give better profit in land than 'ſheep afforded†;' a reaſon which, no doubt, as to that manufacture will continue to operate, whatever may become of the preſent duties upon it in its tranſit either from Ireland to this country, or from hence to Ireland.

In the cotton buſineſs I underſtand the conſumption of coals is, comparatively ſpeaking, very inconſiderable. Fuel is not more abundant now in England than it was five-and-

* Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 69. † Ibid. p. 72.

twenty

twenty years ago; yet during that period the quantity of cotton wool manufactured in Great Britain has increaſed from three to near thirty millions of pounds. The importation of the raw material is alike open to Ireland; that country abounds in weavers; and I am told the workman who is in the practice of weaving linen is capable, with little or no previous inſtruction or practice, of becoming an expert weaver of plain cottons. What then is the real cauſe of her paying to this country more than 100,000*l.* a year for cotton goods manufactured here? what but the want of that capital which alone excites the induſtry and attention, and thereby improves the ſkill of the workman, furniſhes the means of dividing labour, which diminiſhes its coſt beyond any difference, a difference in the amount of wages and expenſe of living can ever occaſion, and enables the opulent trader to give long credit, ſupport accidental loſſes, and thrive under a much ſmaller profit than is requiſite to others leſs fortunate in that reſpect, who might attempt to become his rivals.

But, does Great Britain poſſeſs ſuch advantages over Ireland in reſpect of fuel as has been ſuppoſed?

Many coal-mines exiſt and are worked in Ireland[a], and I believe in many parts of it the veins are rich and extenſive. Mr. *Evans*, engineer to the Grand Canal, in his evidence laid before the Iriſh Houſe of Commons in 1783, as quoted two years afterwards at the bar of this Houſe, ſaid, 'That the Kilkenny collieries, if properly work-'ed, were capable of producing 300, 000 tons of 'culm yearly: that this might be carried by the canal

[a] Mr. *Foſter's* Speech, p. 88, Beaufort's Memoir, p, 27.

'and

'and ſold at the diſtance of forty miles for 1s. 6d. per 'barrel of 4 cwt.; that there were collieries at Lough 'Allen equal in quantity, if properly worked, to the 'ſupply of the whole kingdom, and in quality equal, if 'not ſuperior, to the beſt Whitehaven coals[c].' There are ſeams of coal at Drumglaſs and Dungannon[d], ſaid to be of ſuch thickneſs and goodneſs as to be more than equal to ſix times the conſumption of Dublin; and thoſe collieries are within a few miles of a canal by which a water communication is already open to that city and every other part of Ireland. What has been the real cauſe that thoſe mines have not hitherto been turned to account? Not the want of encouragement from the Iriſh Parliament; they have been always ready and liberal in furniſhing public aid to works promiſing to prove of public benefit. But experience has long ſhewn that public money, even to profuſion, will not perform the functions of private capital, the utter deficiency of which appears to have occaſioned the failure of every undertaking hitherto formed for completing the works neceſſary to furniſh the metropolis and country of Ireland with this valuable commodity from her own mines.

After all, while coals brought coaſtwiſe from one part of England to another, excluſive of London, are ſubject to a duty of ſomewhat more than 5s. 9d. per chaldron, and if to London, of no leſs than 9s 5d.; when exported to Ireland they pay but 1s. 9d. in Great Britain, and, if for the uſe of the manufactories, no Iriſh duty; and an inexhauſtible ſupply from Wales, Whitehaven, and the weſt of Scotland, is open to the whole extent of the

[c] Minutes of Evidence, 2d May 1783.
[d] *Young*'s Tour, vol. ii. p. 91.

eaſtern ſhores of Ireland; and from the ſhortneſs of the run and other circumſtances, beſides the inferiority of duty, the expenſe of freight and other charges is really conſiderably leſs between thoſe parts of Great Britain and Ireland, than to the places in England where the manufacturer is obliged to have his fuel by water-carriage.

In regard to the flint and clay uſed in the pottery wares, if faith is to be given to the teſtimony of a perſon who knew that buſineſs very thoroughly, it will appear that England is far from poſſeſſing ſuch great natural advantages over Ireland as has been ſuppoſed. The late Mr. *Wedgwood*, on his examination before this and the other Houſe of Parliament when the Iriſh Propoſitions were depending, ſtated, that ſome of the flints uſed in this manufacture are brought from the Iriſh ſhore, being picked up from the ballaſt of Iriſh veſſels diſcharged at Liverpool; and that the finer clay is procured on the coaſt of England, and can be ſhipped at 6 or 7*s.* per ton, but that from the additional charge of the inland carriage, it coſts when it reaches Staffordſhire from 1*l.* 16*s.* to 2*l.* 2*s.* His concluſion was, that if the propoſitions had been adopted, Ireland might have underſold Great Britain in pottery goods 40 or 50 per cent.[d]

To ſhew that Britiſh capital will not, in conſequence of a legiſlative Union, be veſted, or Britiſh credit pledged, either in the eſtabliſhment of new Iriſh manufactures for foreign markets, or in the farther cultivation and extenſion of the exiſting linen trade of that country, the reaſoning

[d] Minutes of Evidence, &c. at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, 2d May 1785, p. 177, 178. At the bar of the Houſe of Lords, 16th June 1785, p. 145. 152. 160, 161.

drawn

drawn from the experience of what has happened while there was no ſuch Union, proceeds on a direct *petitio principii*, on the aſſumption that ſuch Union will neither furniſh invitations which cannot be expected, nor remove obſtacles which cannot be done away, by any other means. Indeed the great ſtaple commodity of Ireland, her linen, is even now much more indebted to Britiſh credit than from the ſtatements I have referred to would be ſuppoſed. It may be true that, in a ſtrict ſenſe, Britiſh capital has not '*ſettled*' (to any extent) in Ireland, that is, that perſons from this kingdom have not removed with large capitals to reſide in that country for the purpoſe of carrying on a traffic in Iriſh linens. But is it a correct inference from thence, that Britiſh money has had no influence in promoting the fabric of thoſe linens? I have the very beſt reaſon to believe that in general the linen manufacturers and merchants in Ireland, in order to be able to carry on their buſineſs, find it neceſſary to draw on the agent or factor here to whom their conſignments are made, immediately after the goods are ſhipped, for about two-thirds of the amount of their value, although a very conſiderable part of thoſe goods often remains on the hands of ſuch conſignee for ſix or nine months, and he is afterwards frequently obliged to continue ſtill longer out of his money by the credit he is expected to give to the purchaſers.

Sir, the ſecurity and advancement of trade and manufactures are unqueſtionably matters of great national concern, but I can never look upon them as the chief, much leſs as the excluſive objects of Government. I am ſatisfied Ireland would gain by an Union with Great

Britain advantages much more important; general civilization; ſettled habits of morality and true religion, in the room of the blind ſuperſtition and fanatical rage, now too commonly to be found among the different ſects in that country; a uniform ſubmiſſion to law; and that which is eſſential to the attainment of thoſe great ends, the mitigation and gradual extinction of the ſpirit of diſturbance, inſurrection, devaſtation, plunder and maſſacre, which has prevailed among the Iriſh peaſantry with more or leſs violence, but almoſt without intermiſſion, as far back as we can trace their authentic hiſtory, though under various pretexts, and with various diſtinctions and appellations, ſerving at different periods as the watch-words for every ſpecies of bloody and barbarous hoſtility. It would be a uſeleſs, tedious, and diſguſting taſk to enter into the particulars of this ſort, with which the annals of Ireland are filled, eſpecially ſince the period when the unfortunate adherence of the majority of the people to the errors of the Romiſh church eſtabliſhed the great diviſion of her inhabitants into Proteſtants and Papiſts.

I own I have been often aſtoniſhed to find men of ſenſe and information imputing this melancholy condition of ſociety in Ireland, to this or the other meaſure or ſyſtem of this or the other miniſtry of the preſent reign; a reign too, which has been diſtinguiſhed by a continued ſeries of acts of lenity and beneficence to that country. But I was particularly ſurpriſed, upon a late occaſion, to hear all the miſeries and diſcord we have lately witneſſed, all the bloodſhed which has deluged our ſiſter kingdom, charged to the recall of a reſpectable and

[d] *Smith*'s Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 460.

amiable

amiable Nobleman from the Lord Lieutenancy in the ſpring of 1795. Is it then believed that all would have been well if Lord *Fitzwillian* had been left to govern Ireland, on the principles which he had been adviſed, or was reſolved to adopt? Is it thought that the diſciples of *Tone*, whoſe political goſpel was framed and promulgated years before the appointment of that Chief Governor, would have been ſatisfied with his intended grant of Catholic emancipation, and his intended refuſal of Parliamentary reform? Sir, we have demonſtrative proof that the conceſſion of both would not have ſatisfied them. That preacher of revolution and his diſciples were to be ſatisfied with nothing that his Majeſty's Government, or his Parliament, could give; they were to be ſatisfied only by the eſtabliſhment of a Democratic Republic with a Gallo-Hibernian Directory; while the imaginations of their mad and deluded followers were inflamed—not with conſiderations of religion or legiſlature—of this or that ſet of dogmas—or this or that form and right of election—but with a rage for the invaſion of property; the abolition of tithes and even rent, on the true French plan, without compenſation or equivalent; the extinction of all law, civil and criminal!

Others admit that the misfortunes of Ireland are not ſolely imputable to the recall of Lord *Camden's* predeceſſor, or to what I believe they modeſtly and charitably denominate the weak and wicked policy of his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters. They are willing to allow that former adminiſtrations, for a long courſe of years, are entitled to their ſhare in the blame. In truth, Sir, if the ſervants of the Crown, at different periods, were anſwerable for thoſe inveterate and ever recurring diſorders of that country which prevailed during their reſpective adminiſtrations,

adminiſtrations, not one could be exculpated of all thoſe who have at any time had a ſhare in the government of the empire, from the days of *Burleigh*, *Bacon*, and *Walſingham*, down to the days of their preſent ſucceſſors in the reſponſible departments of the ſtate; neither Lord *Strafford*, a name not free perhaps from juſt reproach, but illuſtrious alſo for talents and virtues to which his deſcendant the noble earl I have mentioned muſt look back with ſatisfaction and pride, nor Lord *Clarendon*, the Dukes of *Ormond*, Lord *Somers*, Lord *Cowper*, Sir *Robert Walpole*, Mr. *Pelham*, &c. &c. any more than thoſe whom we ourſelves have known at different times entruſted by his preſent Majeſty with the conduct of public affairs. But do gentlemen ſeriouſly believe that all the ſucceſſive meaſures of ſo many great, enlightened, and liberal ſtateſmen were inſpired by blind ignorance, tyrannical oppreſſion, or infatuated folly? Sir, I cannot agree in ſuch a lampoon, both on the memory of ſo many great men whom I have learned to reverence and admire, and on the general principles and practice of the Engliſh government for more than two centuries. I believe every thing which wiſe and impartial policy could ſuggeſt has, at different times, been tried, and alas! tried in vain, during that long period; though it cannot be denied that occaſions have alſo intervened, where paſſion, prejudice, and ſhort-ſighted maxims of government have prevailed. But on the whole, the unavoidable concluſion is this—to adopt the words of one of the learned barriſters to whom I referred in an early part of what I have ſubmitted to the Houſe, as I have ſeen them reported—'There is ſome 'radical error in *the ſyſtem* of Iriſh government, and 'this ſhould be ſought for and corrected, elſe the ſeeds 'of diſcontent will fructify for ever.' The gentleman indeed

indeed ſeems to have meant a radical error, not in *the frame and conſtitution*, but in *the adminiſtration* of the Iriſh Government. That opinion I have, I think, clearly refuted. To what remaining ſource then are we to trace this fundamental defect, whoſe exiſtence is ſo manifeſt? To what other can it be traced, but to the imperfections incident to a local and diſtinct Parliament, in a country forming but part, and the leaſt powerful part, of an extenſive empire; to that Parliament which, though often, and how I believe particularly, containing in it men of as great talents and integrity as can exiſt any where, has yet, after the experience of ages, been found inadequate to provide an effectual remedy for the hitherto incurable maladies of the country?

Permit me, Sir, here to advert to certain arguments I have lately met with, to prove that it cannot be expected that an incorporated Legiſlature, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, ſhould be able to tranquillize Ireland, or gradually eſtabliſh civilization and a peaceable ſubmiſſion to the authority of the laws among the lower orders of its inhabitants. Such a Parliament will be unacquainted, it ſeems, with the local circumſtances of a kingdom ' which it ' never ſees,' and will be at too great a diſtance to adminiſter in time to the wants or wiſhes of the people, or to guard againſt exceſſes or diſcontents[d]. One might ſuppoſe, from this ſtatement, that the Iriſh Parliament is in a continual progreſs through the iſland, or ready to fly at a moment from one end of it to the other, whenever wiſhes are to be gratified, or diſcontents ſuppreſſed. Does the Britiſh Legiſlature, in its aggregate ſtate, ever ſee more

[d] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 65.

of

of Great Britain than is contained within the walls of this or the other Houſe of Parliament? or is it not the province of the Executive Miniſters of Government, not of the Legiſlature, on ſudden emergencies, to diſpenſe inſtant favours or apply inſtant coercion, if the good of the community ſhall require the one ſort of interpoſition or the other? ſubject, no doubt, to the cenſure of the Legiſlature, if they ſhall unneceſſarily on ſuch occaſions tranſgreſs, but entitled to indemnity if they ſhall appear to have acted wiſely in exceeding, the bounds of their lawful authority.

Since, as has been truly ſaid, [b] 'neither peace nor war '*neceſſarily* require the act of either Legiſlature,' and the ſupreme Executive Government in London is, by the conſtitution of the empire, entruſted with the care of repelling any ſudden and unexpected invaſion even of Ireland, by a *foreign* enemy, one would imagine the branches of that Executive Government which will continue reſident in Dublin, might be ſuppoſed adequate to whatever immediate meaſures any emergency alike ſudden and unexpected may call for, towards the ſuppreſſion of riots, inſurrection, or rebellion *in* that country.

I am moſt willing and ready to allow an extraordinary merit to the energy of the Iriſh Parliament during the late fatal rebellion, which the concurrent exertions of both Legiſlatures, of the Executive Government in both countries, and, above all, of the brave troops of Ireland and Great Britain, under the benign providence of God, have ſo fortunately repreſſed, though, I fear, not totally extinguiſhed; but I ſhould think it an ill compli-

[b] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 53.

ment

ment to the Iriſh Parliament and the Iriſh nation, were I to ſuppoſe that the diſtinguiſhed ſhare they have had in the happy change which has been effected, could be in any great degree aſcribed to the impreſſion made by a proceſſion of two hundred Members of that Parliament, with the mace at their head, through the ſtreets of Dublin, from College Green to the Caſtle[a].

It ſeems this idea of a reſident Legiſlature is to be carried ſo far as to warrant the ſuppoſition, that if Scotland had had its Parliament ſitting at Edinburgh, the conſpiracy which has been traced to that country, would have been ſooner developed, and more completely cruſhed[b]. Is it then recommended that the Scotch Union ſhould be diſſolved? Or is the Parliament in London only competent to preſerve tranquillity on the ſouth ſide of the Tweed?

It is aſked, if a reſident Parliament and reſident gentry cannot ſoften the manners, amend the habits, or promote ſocial intercourſe, will *no* Parliament and fewer reſident gentry do it[c]. I anſwer this by another queſtion, Has what is called a reſident Parliament done it? It has not, it is not pretended that it has. And as to the United Legiſlature being no Parliament for Ireland, I have endeavoured, and I truſt with ſucceſs, to ſhew, in a former part of what I have ſaid, how extremely ill-founded that propoſition is. With regard to the reſidence of the Iriſh gentry, I ſhall ſubmit a few obſervations by and by. None, in my opinion, are requiſite in anſwer to the remarks concerning the plots which have exiſted in this kingdom, and the pertinacious adherence of the Welſh to their national language, and of the Highlanders to theirs

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 66. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. p. 64.

and their ancient dreſs[a]. For who can be perſuaded as to thoſe circumſtances (the firſt moſt ſerious indeed, but of a temporary nature, and ariſing from accidental cauſes; the others ſuch as are not to be changed, if ſuch a change is really important, but by the gradual and ſlow operation of increaſing intercourſe) that there is any ſort of compariſon between them and the rooted evils of habitual reſiſtance to all law, and inſurrection againſt all legitimate authority, ſo prevalent in Ireland?

It has been ſaid, Will a legiſlative Union appeaſe Catholic diſcontent, or aſſuage the animoſity of the Proteſtants? I anſwer, I am ſatisfied the *ſeparate* Parliament of Ireland never will, perhaps with ſafety it never can, admit the Catholics to participate in the higher political privileges of the ſtate; and the Catholics will never quietly ſubmit to an *Iriſh* Parliament excluſively Proteſtant, having learned to conſider that excluſive juriſdiction as an oppreſſive tyrannical uſurpation of the few upon the many. Perhaps a *United* Parliament may find it ſafe to admit them; and if their admiſſion were ſafe, their excluſion would thenceforward be unjuſt. I will not now enter into the argument of that grave and momentous queſtion. I have often and long reflected upon it; and, if the occaſion ſhall ever require it, I ſhall be ready freely to deliver my ſentiments in regard to it. I do not think the preſent occaſion calls for its diſcuſſion. I will only obſerve, that it ſeems to be the opinion as well of ſome of thoſe who underſtand the intereſts of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment and are moſt peculiarly bound in duty to guard and maintain them, as of ſome who have come forward in public the earneſt and zealous oppoſers of the Catholic claims ſhould the preſent local

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 67.

Parliament

Parliament remain—of the venerable Primate of Ireland, as declared in his ſpeech on the 22d of January laſt, and of Dr. *Duigenan*, as ſtated in his celebrated anſwer to Mr. *Grattan*—that Catholic emancipation, as it is affectedly called, might, in caſe of the legiſlative incorporation of Ireland with this country, be acceded to without danger. The words of Dr. *Duigenan* are remarkable. They ſtruck me much on the firſt appearance of his work, before this meaſure of Union had been ſo generally thought of as it has been ſince; and I then pointed them out to the attention of many of my friends. I believe they have already been referred to in ſome former debates; but as the paſſage is ſhort, I will take the liberty of reading it.

'If we were one people with the Britiſh nation, the preponderance of the Proteſtant body of the whole empire would be ſo great, that all rivalſhip and jealouſies between Proteſtants and Romaniſts would ceaſe for ever; and it would not be neceſſary, for the ſafety of the empire at large, to curb the Romaniſts by any excluſive laws whatſoever [a].'

If the Catholics ſhould not be admitted into the United Parliament, ſtill they will not then have to complain that they are excluded by a great majority of the nation; nor will they be any longer expoſed to that ſenſe of a mortifying and galling inferiority, which they ſay it is the habit, which I fear it is in the nature, of their local Legiſlature to excite, acted upon and ſtirred up to perpetual exertions of ſevere authority, by the jealouſy and apprehenſions to which the ſtruggles of the Catholics, at their very doors in a manner and under their immediate eye, continually give riſe.

[a] *Duigenan's* Anſwer to Grattan, p. 79.

We have ſeen the invalidity of the reaſons by which ſome of the ſuppoſed diſadvantages to Ireland likely to ariſe from the aſſembling of the common Legiſlature out of that iſland and at the metropolis of the empire, have been attempted to be proved. Another of thoſe ſuppoſed diſadvantages remains to be noticed. It is ſaid the preſent ſtate of things keeps the purſe of the Iriſh nation in the honeſt hands of an Iriſh Parliament; and that if a number inferior to thoſe choſen by Great Britain ſhall be ſent from Ireland to an United Legiſlature, they will carry this purſe over, and, laying it at the Miniſter's feet, deliver it up to his full power and uncontrouled diſcretion[a]. The ſtrict economy of the Iriſh Parliament, and its prudent refiſtance to the calls of the Executive Government for pecuniary ſupplies, however juſt its claim to that praiſe, will not, I believe, be admitted by the majority of thoſe who have oppoſed a Union, either on this or the other ſide of the water. But has any body ever ſuppoſed that York, Briſtol and Liverpool, or Limerick, Cork and Waterford, have run a greater riſk than Weſtminſter and Dublin, in confiding the power of their purſe to Parliaments aſſembled in thoſe laſt-mentioned cities? Suppoſe a partner in a mercantile houſe eſtabliſhed in Cork to come to England on account of the partnerſhip, and with full power to act for it; if ſuch a perſon, during his abſence in this country, ſhould make a draft or accept a bill for the general behalf of the concern, would there be more danger of injury to the houſe from an improvident exerciſe of his power in that reſpect in ſuch caſe, than if he had been deputed with equal authority to ſome other city in Ireland, to Derry or Belfaſt, and had exerciſed it there?

But when ſuch topics as theſe are urged, do not Gentle-

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 58, 59.

men

ment forget that, according to the Reſolutions[a] propoſed to be carried up to the Throne with this joint addreſs, the rate of taxation between the two kingdoms is to be regulated by fixed rules and principles, to be agreed upon previous to the Union? The purſe of Ireland therefore will, in a peculiar degree, have for its guardians not only the members Ireland ſhall elect, but thoſe alſo choſen by Great Britain, as they can never concur in taxing that country without impoſing a burden on this, in a proportion which Ireland as well as this country, and not in conjunction with it, but while ſtill in its diſtinct and ſeparate ſtate, ſhall have ſanctioned; and hence we have no occaſion, here, to recur to the argument I ſome time ſince ſubmitted to the Houſe in order to ſhew the little ground there is to apprehend, that the general intereſts of Ireland will be overlooked or ſacrificed by a United Legiſlature. In this material inſtance of taxation, the very ſelfiſhneſs of Great Britain herſelf will protect (ſince there are ſtill thoſe who will delight in viewing their intereſts as different) the ſeparate purſe of Ireland.

It ſeems to be chiefly for the purpoſe of meeting this argument that the alarms are raiſed to which I referred at the outſet; leſt the articles of Union ſhould be infringed to the detriment of Ireland, whenever an infraction of them may be thought beneficial to Great Britain. To give colour to theſe apprehenſions, we are told of the diſavowal of the compact of 1782. This, it is ſaid, muſt create a ſuſpicion that any compact made in 1799 may be treated as lightly[b]. I have ſhewn that no compact of the ſort inſiſted on can have been intended in 1782; that whatever was then held out on the part of this country has been ſtrictly adhered to; that the claim of the Britiſh

[a] Vide 7th Reſolution.

[b] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 99.

Parliament

Parliament to legiſlate for Ireland has never been renewed, as I am ſatisfied it never will; but that when there is a compact between two diſtinct countries, if either of them ſhall break its part of it, the other may be able to reſume its former ſituation, whereas in the caſe of an incorporating Union that is impoſſible; and that therefore ſuch a compact can only be broken by lawleſs and revolutionary violence: which if it were attempted with ſucceſs after a Union, would diſſolve the whole political machine, and is no more to be dreaded than any other imaginable and poſſible ſubverſion of the ſtate.

What has been in fact the caſe as to the Scotch Union? No candid man who is verſed in the hiſtory of his country ſince that memorable tranſaction will deny that its ſpirit, in all its clear and important parts, in all its 'fundamental and eſſential conditions'[a], has been adhered to ever ſince with ſcrupulous and ſacred inviolability. The contrary, indeed, has been often, and was early attempted to be proved by the violence of faction and to ſerve the purpoſes of the day, though at the riſk of no matter what public miſchief and confuſion. Such, among others, was the attempt in 1713, when, parties running high, the reluctance of the Scotch to ſubmit to a general malt-tax was laid hold of, and their repreſentatives perſuaded, though upon a doubtful conſtruction of one of the ſecondary clauſes of the treaty, and one whoſe effect at beſt was only to be of a temporary and ſhort duration, to raiſe a cry that thoſe articles of the Union which were in favour of Scotland had been infringed; and even to bring forward a motion in Parliament[b] for its formal diſſolution; a motion which thoſe who had encouraged it were far, I believe, from wiſhing to ſucceed, having done ſo merely

[a] Article 25.

[b] 1ſt June 1713. Lords' Debates, vol. ii. p. 394. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xviii. p. 83.

with

with the hope that it would contribute to the overthrow of an adminiſtration to which they expected to ſucceed.

In hunting for objections on the preſent occaſion, the circumſtances of that occurrence have been eagerly looked into, and turned and twiſted in a great variety of ways. But as one of the laſt, and certainly not the leaſt of thoſe who have conceived it to be their duty publicly to oppoſe the propoſal of a Union between Ireland and Great Britain, ſcarcely appears to have thought they could be employed to any uſeful purpoſe on his ſide of the queſtion, I do not deem it neceſſary for me to detain the Houſe by any particular obſervations upon them.

I do not exactly underſtand, after the candid declaration, that the extenſion of the late income-tax is neither a breach of any of the articles of the Scotch Union, nor even ſuſpected to have been meant as an evaſion of it, why it is mentioned as affording an argument to perſuade Ireland not to agree to a ſimilar Union. 'Time and circumſtances,' it is ſaid, 'have ſet aſide the great beneficial difference in taxation which induced Scotland to conſent to a Union[a].' And we are told, 'that, inſtead of taxing the land, the income ariſing out of the land is taxed, and that the effect is therefore the ſame to the Scotchman as if the articles of Union were broken[b].' Sir, I ſhould like to aſk whether when the tea, the coffee, the wine, the ſugar, &c. a Scotchman purchaſes with the income ariſing from his land is taxed at the ſame rate as thoſe articles are in England, it might not as well be argued that this alters the ſettled proportion of land-tax, and amounts to a virtual breach of the articles of Union?

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 56. [b] Ibid.

But

But what part of the hiſtory of that tranſaction proves that a difference in taxation was the ruling motive with Scotland upon that occaſion? The ratio of the tax on land between the two countries was ſettled on particular grounds, in my opinion reaſonable in themſelves, and ſatisfactory to the parties concerned; they may be ſeen ſtated at length in *De Foe*'s book. In regard to the taxation of a particular ſort of beer or ale uſed only in Scotland, a difference was alſo ſtipulated for in favour of that country[a], and likewiſe an exemption from certain temporary duties then exiſting in England[b], and from any tax to be impoſed on malt during the war.[c] But as to all the other great duties of cuſtoms and exciſe then in force in England, and all duties to be impoſed after the expiration of thoſe temporary taxes, except in the caſe of the ſort of beer I have mentioned, an equality of rates was expreſsly agreed to[d], though with this equitable qualification, that, beſides a certain ſum to be paid immediately, a fund ſhould be created equal to ſuch portion of the ſhare of the common revenue which would be raiſed on Scotland, as might be applicable to the then debts of England; to be applied, in the firſt place, to the extinction of the debts of Scotland, and afterwards to objects of local improvement there ‖.

I conceive that Scotland, when ſhe agreed to the Union, looked to far other advantages than a general and ſuppoſed beneficial difference in taxation, a difference ſhe could always inſure without a Union. She looked to advantages which, by increaſing her wealth and general income, would enable her to flouriſh under an equal ratio of contribution,—the points the two parties had agreed on excepted,—to the common exigencies of

[a] Art. 7.
[b] Art. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.
[c] Art. 14. ſupra, p. 102.
[d] Art. 7, 8, 14, 15.
[e] Art. 15.

the

the United State. Whether ſhe has been diſappointed in that motive for her conduct, and that proſpect to which ſhe looked forward, I will now proceed to inquire.

Indeed, that Scotland has thriven through the whole courſe of the preſent century to an extraordinary degree, in all the branches of national wealth and improvement, is a fact notorious to all who have attended to the progreſs of that part of the kingdom, but particularly to ſuch as are acquainted with, or moſt intereſted in her concerns. The truth of the fact therefore does not ſeem to be controverted; but it is ſaid 'the argument is ſhallow which attributes 'every increaſe of trade, of population, of wealth in Scotland from that day to this, to the Union, as if nothing 'was due to the progreſſive ſtate of the world during a century, and Scotland alone, amidſt ſurrounding nations, was 'to have remained ſtationary;' and it is added, 'if ſuch 'was the viciouſneſs of her conſtitution, the miſeries of her 'conſtitution, the miſeries of her ſituation, or the depreſſion of her reſources, well might ſhe have accepted any 'terms*.' I do not believe it was ever the intention of any body to aſcribe all the improvements of Scotland excluſively to the Union. The general cauſes alluded to have no doubt operated there, but one might aſk in this place, why thoſe cauſes are ſuppoſed to have been of ſuch powerful agency in Scotland ſince 1707, but of none in Ireland before and ſince 1782?

It is often difficult to aſcertain with exact preciſion the ſpecific cauſes of national proſperity, and to aſſign to each its true ſhare in the general effect. If the Union put Scotland in a ſecure ſituation of participating in the influence

* Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 104.

of events and circumſtances which were deſtined to meliorate in a greater or leſs degree all the parts of the Britiſh dominions, much was gained by that country, and thus far I think I have already proved. I have referred to the known oppreſſion exerciſed towards her by her more powerful neighbour while they had ſeparate Parliaments, the continuance or renewal of which was, by the Union, effectually prevented. I have moreover ſhewn that what England then practiſed againſt Scotland, though to her own detriment, and England and Great Britain long afterwards are accuſed of having practiſed againſt Ireland, may be again practiſed againſt her by a ſeparate government remaining in this country. This is no threat; none now living will ever be ſo unwiſe or ſo unjuſt as to attempt it. But can they entail their wiſdom or their juſtice on ſucceeding ages and their yet unborn ſucceſſors in influence or power?

Arguments and facts, however, ſatisfactory and numerous, might eaſily be adduced to ſhew that the Union has not merely proved of this negative advantage to Scotland, but has been in a great degree the direct cauſe of her increaſed proſperity. On this head the Houſe cannot have forgot the powerful and convincing ſtatement made on a former day by a Right Hon. Gentleman peculiarly ſkilled in the hiſtory and ſituation of that country. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with adding only a very few circumſtances to what was detailed upon that occaſion.

If I can make it probable that the trade of Scotland has increaſed ſince the year 1707, in a greater ratio than that of England, I think I ſhall have a right to conclude that this exceſs in the improvement of the former country has been

been owing to the Union. That tranſaction was not likely to benefit England in the ſame proportion; other general cauſes of melioration would probably do ſo to a greater extent, from her ſuperior advantages of climate, ſituation, and capital.

The facts I have to ſtate are theſe: The Scotch duties of exciſe at the time of the Union amounted only to 30,000*l.* thoſe of cuſtoms to 35,000*l.*—or, together to 65,000*l.* At that time the cuſtoms of England were 1,341,559*l.* the exciſe 947,612*l.*—together, 2,289,161*l.*[a] According to the account annexed to the 23d Report of the late Committee of Finance, it appears that the groſs total receipt from the cuſtoms of Scotland in the year 1797 was 403,536*l.*, from the exciſe of that country 958,173*l.* Thoſe two ſums added together make 1,361,709*l.* In England the groſs amount received in the ſame year from the cuſtoms was 6,124,346*l.*, that from the exciſe 11,080,044*l.*—together 17,204,390*l.* Now, Sir, that ſum, large as it is, falls extremely ſhort indeed of what it ſhould have been if the advance in its amount had been in the ſame proportion as that which appears to have taken place in regard to the cuſtoms and exciſe in Scotland; for it will be found that by that ratio the amount for England would have been very near forty-eight millions[b].

It may indeed with truth be ſaid, that the rate of thoſe duties was very conſiderably lower in Scotland than in England at the time of the Union; but, although by the ſtipulations of that treaty they were (with the exceptions I

[a] *De Foe*, p. 123. Treaty of Union, Art. xv. ſt. 5 Ann. c. 8.

[b] 65,000 : 2,289,161 :: 1,361,709 : 47,956,479$\frac{1}{13}\frac{149}{000}$*l.*

have mentioned) to become the ſame after it in both countries, yet Parliament, authorized ſo to do under the 14th article of the Treaty, has in truth ſo greatly favoured Scotland ſince in reſpect of two of the main objects of exciſe revenue, malt and diſtilled ſpirits, that the firſt in that country does not now, and did not in the year 1797, pay more than one half, and the other not two-thirds of the Engliſh duties[c]. It is alſo to be obſerved, that a heavy duty on many articles conſumed in Scotland, ſuch as tea, ſugar, coffee, &c. &c. and which is therefore in truth paid by that country, is now collected in England.

But if another mode of compariſon ſhould be preferred, we may find the materials for it in *De Foe*. That writer informs us[d] that it had been eſtimated that the cuſtom and exciſe of Scotland, if put on the ſame foot with thoſe taxes in England at the time of the Union, would have produced, —cuſtoms 70,000*l.*—exciſe 40,000*l.*—in all 110,000*l.* Now, even this ſum will be found to be, to the produce of thoſe duties in England at that time, not as the preſent produce in Scotland is to that in England, but as it is to a ſum exceeding that by much more than one-half, viz. 28,337,919*l.*[e]

Upon the whole, therefore, I think it is impoſſible not to ſee that the produce of thoſe two great branches of re-

[c] The duty on ſalt uſed in Scotland is now but in the proportion of 4 to 10 to that in England, ſt. 38 Geo. III. c. 89. The poſt-office duty is alſo much lower in Scotland, 39 Geo. III. c. 77.

[d] P. 188.

[e] 110,000 : 2,289,161 : : 1,361,709 : 28,337,919$\frac{46149}{100000}$*l.*

venue,

venue, which may be taken as tolerably exact meaſures of the trade, both foreign and internal, of each country, has, even upon the ſuppoſition of an equality of rates, increaſed in a much greater proportion in Scotland than in England.

But we are aſked, 'Has Scotland advanced in proſpe-'rity ſince the Union as much as Ireland[e]?' Any one who had given entire credit to the frequent complaints of tyrannical oppreſſion exerciſed by this country almoſt conſtantly towards Ireland, might be apt to conceive, that whatever ſhould make it probable that the improvement of Scotland had done much more than keep peace with that of England during that period, muſt tend, *à fortiori*, to ſhew that it muſt have greatly ſurpaſſed that of Ireland. But knowing how often thoſe complaints have been made from party conſiderations, or dictated by ſpleen and ill humour, I do not think we ought to content ourſelves with ſuch a general preſumption.

No ſingle branch of trade or manufacture, common to the two countries, can afford a ſatisfactory criterion by which to decide the queſtion. The linen trade has been compared, and calculations have been ſtated to ſhew that Ireland has outrun Scotland very much in that branch. But linen, though a great, is far from the only conſiderable manufacture of Scotland. It is admitted to be the only one of any moment in Ireland. Perhaps a compariſon of the annual revenue of each will furniſh a better teſt.

[e] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 104.

I think

I think it will not be denied, that, to meet the extraordinary expenſes of the times, the taxes in Ireland have been ſtrained of late to nearly as high a pitch as is conſiſtent with the eaſe, comfort, or induſtry of its inhabitants; at leaſt, whoever is acquainted with the two countries will allow, to judge from general appearances in each, that the people of Scotland as are little overpowered by the preſſure of their ſhare of the public burdens of this kingdom, as thoſe of Ireland are by the taxes levied on them. If I may take this for granted, it will follow, without going into the different rates of duties impoſed on the different objects of taxation in each[e], that, of the two, that country which, in proportion to its population and natural advantages, yields the greateſt annual amount of public income muſt be in the moſt proſperous ſituation.

Now how does the caſe ſtand? Scotland is acknowledged to contain much fewer inhabitants than Ireland, though in extent the firſt ſomewhat exceeds the latter country; the ſoil of Scotland is much the leaſt fertile; its climate is not ſo temperate as that of Ireland; and its ports and other natural advantages for foreign trade, one great ſource of revenue, are much inferior.

[e] The duty on diſtilled ſpirits in 1797, was much higher in Ireland than in Scotland, and is ſo ſtill. That on malt in Scotland is now but 7¼*d.* $\frac{10}{20}$ per Wincheſter buſhel, or 5*s.* 5*d.* per quarter; in Ireland it is 6*s.* 6*d.* Ir. or 6*s.* Br. per barrel. A barrel Ir. is about 5 buſhels, a quarter 8 buſhels. The duty in England is but 10*s.* 6*d.* per quarter. The rates of the poſtage of letters in Ireland and Scotland in 1797, were nearly the ſame, and, I believe, continue to be ſo.

Yet,

Yet, with ſo many differences in favour of Ireland, it will be found that the groſs revenue levied in Scotland in the year before the laſt, which is the lateſt period of which I have been able to get a full account for both countries, came within conſiderably leſs than 100,003*l.* of that of Ireland. The latter amounted to 1,965,130*l.* Ir. equal to 1,813,966*l.* Br.[d]; the former to 1,734,472*l.* leaving a difference only of 79,494*l.* According to the many advantages I have juſt ſtated as belonging to Ireland, if the two countries were in an equal degree of proſperity, the revenue of Ireland ought to have exceeded that of Scotland in an infinitely greater proportion.

I have ſpoken of *groſs* revenue; but the expenſe of collection is ſo much leſs in Scotland than in Ireland (probably alſo an effect of the Union), that on the compariſon of the *net* produce of each, the balance turns very conſiderably in favour of Scotland; for, in the ſame year, the net produce of the Scotch revenue was 1,487,036*l.*; that of Ireland only 1,437,516*l.* Ir. or 1,325,937*l.*[e] Br. Here the difference is no leſs than 160,099*l.* in favour of Scotland, being the ſum which that country contributed more than Ireland, in that year, to the general aggregate expenditure of the empire, conſidered as a whole.

The ſtatement as to Scotland I have extracted from the accurate reports of the Finance Committee. Thoſe reſpecting Ireland come from a ſource which I can rely upon as perfectly authentic.

[d] 13*l.* Ir. make 12*l.* Br. and 13 : 12 : : 1,965,130 : 1,813,966$\frac{2}{13}$*l.*

[e] 13 : 12 : : 1,437,516 : 1,326,937$\frac{12}{13}$*l.*

It

It is ſaid, the trade of Glaſgow, the chief commercial city of Scotland, has decreaſed ſince the American war[d]. If this were correct, I do not ſee what inference could be drawn from it in regard to the effect of the Union. But I have extremely good authority for ſtating, that although the merchants of that city have loſt the Virginia trade in conſequence of the American revolution, their commerce and navigation are on the whole very conſiderably augmented. They have now, particularly, a very extenſive traffic with the Weſt Indies, of which they had none formerly; and, as to their manufactures, that of cotton is immenſe, and the reſt are in general at leaſt quadrupled within the laſt twenty years.

But has the population of Scotland kept pace in due proportion with that of Ireland[e]? Sir, the population of Ireland is, as I have ſaid, undoubtedly conſiderably greater, in proportion to its extent, than that of Scotland; but if the much ſmaller number of inhabitants of the latter poſſeſs as much or more uſeful wealth, that is, if they can with equal eaſe to themſelves, which I have endeavoured to render probable, contribute as much or more towards the exigencies of the public as thoſe of the former, it it very difficult to ſee how Ireland can be conſidered as in a ſtate of more rapid progreſſion in point of riches and individual or national proſperity than Scotland.

I cannot help ſuſpecting, however, that there are ſome great miſtakes on the ſubject of the population of theſe kingdoms, and the progreſſive increaſe of numbers in each during the preſent century; that the numbers in

[d] Mr. *Foſter's* Speech, p. 105. [e] Ibid.

Ireland

Ireland have of late been greatly exaggerated, or thoſe in Scotland (and indeed in England) much under-rated.

It is ſaid, the population of Scotland at the Union was a million, and that it is now but a million and a half; whereas Ireland, whoſe inhabitants then were little more than a million and a half, has now a population of near four millions and a half[a]. I do not know from whence theſe numbers, or at leaſt ſome of them, may have been taken; but ſtatements might have been found, according to which the compariſon would have turned out ſtill more to the advantage of the argument for the ſake of which it has been made.

According to *De Foe*, the number of inhabitants in Scotland at the time of the Union was, inſtead of one, eſteemed to be two millions[b]; and moſt of the modern calculations have reduced them in our time to the number, ſtated, of about a million and a half[c], ſome conſiderably under[d]. On the other hand, all the authorities I have happened to meet with for raiſing the population of Ireland ſo high as four millions and a half, according to what I have juſt now mentioned, except that moſt reſpectable one to which I then meant to refer, are to be found in publications which furniſh others of equal weight for taking it ſtill higher, namely, at five millions[e].

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 165. [b] Ibid. p. 165.

[c] *Chalmers*'s Eſtimate, p. 224, note; Sir *J. Sinclair*'s Statiſtical Account of Scotland, vol. xx. p. 621.

[d] Dr. *Webſter*'s Tables. Dr. *Webſter*, in 1755, made them only 1,265,380; Sir *J. Sinclair*, in 1798, 1,526,492.

[e] Four millions and a half Meſſrs. *Hamilton Rowan* and *Tone*'s *Jackſon*'s Trial, p. 80: Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, 1798, Appendix No. xxii. p. 195: Mr. Keough's Authentic Statement

But, Sir, is it conceivable that Scotland, having in the laſt hundred years improved ſo much in trade, manufactures, and agriculture, having been viſited by no violent epidemical diſtempers, and certainly not having on the whole ſuffered more, notwithſtanding the two ſhort rebellions in 1715 and 1745, than Ireland from internal diſturbances, ſhould have experienced either a diminution of one fourth or more, or even but an increaſe of one third of her population, while that of Ireland has been multiplied four or five fold[a]?

It is true, more authentic calculations do not carry the population of the latter ſo high. Dr. *Price*, in 1773, reckoned it only 1,908,207, and he then computed that of Scotland at one million and a half[b]. Lord *Auckland*, in his Letters to Lord *Carliſle* in 1779, ſays, 'the common 'large calculation' of the numbers in Ireland was at that time two millions[c]. Lord *North*, in the debate on the Iriſh Propoſitions in 1785, ſtated them at 2,300,000[d],

Statement of the Proceedings of the Roman Catholics of Dublin, 9th of April 1795. p. 37. Five millions, Mr. *Lewins*, ibid. p. 31. Mr. *Emmett*; Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords of Ireland, 1798, Appendix, No. vi. p. 33.

[a] I think I could ſtate, from a compariſon of the reſpective rates and produce of the duties on ſtilled Spirits in Scotland and Ireland, very ſtrong preſumptive reaſons for believing that the quantity conſumed is as great in the former as in the latter. If we ſuppoſe the individual uſe of whiſkey in each to be nearly the ſame, this would lead to a very different proportion in the reſpective population of each, from that furniſhed by the common calculations.

[b] *Price* on Reverſionary Payments, p. 185, note.

[c] P. 82.

[d] 30th May 1785, Parliamentary Regiſter, vol. xviii. p. 425.

and

and he does not appear to have been contradicted. Indeed in the ſame debate, a Gentleman who is a native of that country, admitted them to be under two millions and a half[a]. So late as 1792, Mr. *Burke*, throughout his Letter to Sir *Hercules Langriſhe*, takes them at three millions.[b] In that year, however, the ſubject having been much attended to in Ireland, particularly by the late Mr. *Buſhe*, one of the commiſſioners of the revenue there, according to the accounts which were then exhibited to the Houſe of Commons, the number of houſes in Ireland was computed at 701,102, which, reckoning 5 perſons to each houſe, gives 3,505,510 for the number of inhabitants; at $5\frac{1}{2}$, 3,856,061; and at 6, 4,206,612. Dr. *Beaufort* thinks it reaſonable, 'when 'we take into conſideration the great populouſneſs of 'the pooreſt cottages, the many crowded houſes in Dub-'lin and other large towns, and that the univerſity, bar-'racks, hoſpitals, and public offices are not included in 'the hearth-money returns' (according to which the number of houſes had been calculated,) to rate the number of perſons, on the hypotheſis of only 701,102 houſes, at the medium reckoning of $5\frac{1}{2}$ to each houſe, and to ſtate the population on the whole at about 3,850,000[c]. He appears to have had communications with Mr. *Buſhe* on the ſubject, and therefore this may be conjectured to have been alſo the opinion of that very accurate and intelligent perſon.

This laſt computation may, perhaps, be near the truth. My ſcepticiſm is chiefly with regard to the received opinions as to the population of Scotland, concerning

[a] Parliamentary Regiſter, vol. xviii. p. 446.
[b] P. 69. 72. 74.
[c] Memoir of a Map of Ireland, 142.

which, I think, I could adduce many facts and arguments, beſides the general conſiderations I have hinted at, to render it probable that it approaches nearer that of Ireland, tho' no doubt very conſiderably under it, than has of late been generally ſuppoſed.

Among the reaſons drawn from the ſuppoſed peculiar ſituation of Scotland before the Union, which are thought to ſhew that ſuch a meaſure might be very advantageous to that country, without being ſo to Ireland, are two, concerning which I will ſay a very few words. They have been adduced, I preſume, principally as inſtances of the comparative 'viciouſneſs' of the conſtitution of Scotland, and 'to juſtify the opinion that it was not worth preſerving[b].'

1. One is, 'that the two Houſes ſat together,' *i. e.* that there were not two Houſes, 'and that the King, by his 'power of creating Peers, could at any time overpower 'the voices of the Commons[c].'

2. The other, 'that the Scotch Parliament, even with 'this imperfect conſtitution, had not a deliberative power, 'becauſe it could diſcuſs no ſubject but what was previouſly 'prepared by the Lords of the Articles[d].'

1. As to the firſt, there certainly was but one Houſe in the Scotch Parliament, which continued in that reſpect to reſemble the original form of the Engliſh; but

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, 104.
[b] Ibid. p. 102.
[c] P. 101.
[d] Ibid.

it

it is a point of conſiderable doubt whether an act of that Parliament (which was originally conſidered as compoſed of four *diſtinct* eſtates, and after the abolition of the prelacy, and to the very laſt, of three; 1. Noblemen: 2. Barons, *i. e.* repreſentatives of ſhires; and, 3. Burrows, *i. e.* members for boroughs) was valid without a concurrence of the majority of each eſtate. There are great authorities on both ſides of the queſtion[a]; and the very doubt ſeems to prove that, in all caſes of importance, ſuch concurrence had, in fact, taken place. In the liſts of the diviſions on the treaty of Union, preſerved by *De Foe*, it appears that the votes of each eſtate were kept diſtinct; and that, on every queſtion divided upon and carried, there was a majority of each[b]. Be this point, however, as it may, it would ſeem that the Crown had not found it expedient to exerciſe its prerogative, by creating an exceſs in the number of Peers; for, in fact, at the time of the Union, the whole number of Noblemen in the Parliament of Scotland was but 154, while that of the Commoners was 156[c]. Early in the preceding reign no leſs than twenty-ſix members for counties had been added at once to the repreſentative part of the legiſlature of Scotland[d]; afterwards an additional Parliamentary borough was erected; and a very ſhort time before the the Union, Mr. *Fletcher* of Saltoun had propoſed to provide by ſtatute, 'that in all time coming, 'for every nobleman that ſhould be created there ſhould 'be a baron added to the parliament'.[e] His motion

[a] *Craig* de Feudis, lib. i. dieg. 7. § 11. *Mackenzie's* Inſtitutes, p. 402. *Wight* on Elections, p. 83.

[b] *De Foe*, Appendix, P. xx. p. 662. E. xx. p. 666.

[c] *De Foe*, *Wight*, *Robertſon*, &c.

[d] Sc. Acts, 1ſt Parl. 2d ſeſ. Will. and M. c. 11. 1690. p. 288.

[e] *Fletcher's* Works, p. 286.

did

did not indeed paſs; but from the known hiſtory of the act of ſecurity, which the popular intereſt in that very Parliament had been able not only to carry there, but to force the Queen to aſſent to, is it too much to conclude that if the method of outnumbering the Commoners by creating new Peers had been attempted, which is ſuppoſed to have been ſo eaſy, ſuch a motion would have been leſs unſucceſsful?

2. As to the Lords of the Articles, what has been obſerved on that ſubject is clearly the effect of overſight; many years before the Union, by an act of the Scotch Parliament [a], the inſtitution had been totally aboliſhed, and it made as little a part of the conſtitution of Scotland in 1707, as the Court of Star-chamber or High Commiſſion Court did of that of England.

Before I quit this ſubject, of the advantages Scotland has derived from the Union, I muſt beg leave to take notice of a paſſage or two in '*Smith*'s Wealth of Nations;' from which, taken by themſelves, and, even in that detached ſtate ſingularly miſunderſtood and miſinterpreted, inferences have been drawn or ſurmiſed, as if that judicious and impartial writer had not conceived that that event had tended to improve the proſperity of his native country.

We have been told here, that he has imputed the increaſed trade of Scotland to the eſtabliſhment of banks.—He has certainly ſaid, that within five-and-twenty or thirty years from the time in which he was writing, many private banking companies had been erected in every conſiderable town and in many country villages of

[a] Sc. Acts, 1ſt Parl. Will. & M. 2d ſeſ. c. 3. 1690, p. 220.

Scotland;

Scotland, and he gives it as his opinion, 'that the country 'had derived great benefit from that circumſtance[a].' I have no intention to queſtion that opinion. The reaſons by which he ſupports it have great force; though, by the by, it is a remarkable circumſtance, that the period he mentions will be found very nearly to coincide with that from which Chief Baron *Foſter* had dated the beginning of the great ſpirit of improvement in Ireland; and which I have mentioned as the epoch of an accelerated progreſſion in that reſpect throughout the whole of the Britiſh dominions. But it will be found that Dr. *Smith*, in the very paſſage in queſtion, is very far from conſidering the banks, either public or private, as the excluſive cauſe of the increaſe of trade in Scotland. He ſays, 'he had heard it aſſerted, that the trade of Glaſgow had 'been doubled in about fifteen years after the firſt erection 'of banks there, and that the trade of Scotland had been 'more than quadruped ſince the firſt erection of the public 'banks at Edinburgh; one in 1695, the other in 1727:' 'and immediately adds, if either of them have increaſed in 'this proportion, it ſeems to be an effect too great to be 'accounted for by the ſole operation of this cauſe[b].!'

Other paſſages, however, are mentioned as if directly in point, to ſhew that he did not think the Union promoted trade or manufactures in Scotland[c]. One is as follows: 'Of *all* commercial advantages which Scotland 'has derived from the Union, the riſe in the price of cattle 'is perhaps the greateſt[d].' This is an extraordinary

[a] Vol. i. p. 442, 7th edition.
[b] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 106.
[c] Ibid. p. 443.
[d] *Smith*, vol. i. p. 348.

proof

proof that he 'did not think that it derived any commercial advantages from it.' But it ſeems this muſt be a very poor advantage to *Scotland*, becauſe the policy of *Ireland* has been to impoſe duties in order to check the export of live cattle[a]. Sir, till all the circumſtances of the two caſes ſhall have been compared, till it is made out that the impoſition of thoſe reſtrictive duties is good policy in Ireland, till it is then proved that, being ſo, it would have been good policy in regard to Scotland, and till it is ſhewn that becauſe a legiſlative Union between Scotland and England opened a free export of cattle from the former, therefore a ſimilar Union between Ireland and Great Britain muſt neceſſarily open a like exportation from Ireland; till theſe poſitions are eſtabliſhed, I do not ſee what poſſible advantage the able Advocate who has reſorted to the authority of Dr. *Smith* on this point, can derive from it in ſupport of his argument. Dr. *Smith*'s favourite doctrine, if my memory does not miſlead me, is, that agriculture is preferable to commerce, and that the commerce moſt connected with agriculture is the beſt[b]; and he mentions the effect of the Union in regard to the price of cattle in Scotland, to ſhew that 'it has 'not only raiſed the value of lands in the Highlands, but 'has been the principal cauſe of the improvement of the 'low country[c]'.

Another paſſage referred to for the ſame purpoſe is this: 'The price of wool was reduced by the Union 'excluding it from the great markets in Europe, and 'confining it to the narrow one of England[d].' Permit

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 106.
[b] Vol. iii. p. 136, &c. &c. &c.
[c] *Smith*, vol. i. p. 348, 349.
[d] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 106.

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me to add to this the part of the context which immediately follows, viz. 'The value of the greater part of the lands 'in the ſouthern counties, which are chiefly a ſheep coun-'try, would have been very deeply affected by this event 'had not the riſe in the price of butcher's meat fully com-'penſated the fall in the price of wool[a].' Taking the whole therefore together, which I ſuppoſe will be allowed to be the fair way, it is clear the author thought this reſtriction had, on the whole, been of no poſitive diſadvantage. But it is not a reſtriction confined to Scotland, nor any eſſential or neceſſary part of the treaty of Union; it was part of a general ſyſtem for the whole united kingdom, thought at the time,—and from the continuance of the laws againſt exportation, we muſt infer that it is ſtill thought ſo by the Legiſlature,—to be for the good of the whole. I am not now called upon, if I were competent, to give an opinion on this *vexata queſtio*; I will only obſerve, that the Parliament of Scotland had long acted on the ſame principle[b]; that if the United Legiſlature ſhall ever come to think that it is ſounder policy to allow the exportation of wool, there is nothing in the articles of Union to prevent the extenſion of that freedom to Scotland; and that in ſuch caſe it probably would be extended to that country. In the mean time it will be recollected that, for the conſent of Scotland at the time to admit of the prohibition, a valuable conſideration was to be paid out of the general equivalent ſtipulated for by the 15th article[c] of the treaty.

Indeed, Sir, I cannot diſguiſe my aſtoniſhment that

[a] *Smith*, vol. i. p. 369.

[b] Scotch Acts, 7th Parl. Jac. 6. c. 113. An. 1581, 1ſt Parl. Car. 2. ſeſſ. 1. c. 40. An. 1661.

[c] Vide *De Foe*, p. 403. 406. 444.

Dr. *Smith* should have been called as a witness on the present occasion; but as he has been produced, I hope I may be allowed to use the legal privilege permitted in such cases of a cross-examination; and I will shew the House by reading a passage where he expressly treats of a Union between Ireland and Great Britain, what the real sentiments of that author were on the subject. The Gentlemen cannot dispute either the credit or competency of an authority to which they themselves have chosen to refer.

'By a Union with Great Britain, Ireland would gain '*besides the freedom of trade*, other advantages much more 'important. By the Union with *England* the middling and 'inferior ranks of people in Scotland gained a complete de- 'liverance from the power of an ariſtocracy which had be- 'fore oppreſſed them. By a Union with *Great Britain* the 'greater part of the people of all ranks in Ireland would 'gain equally complete deliverance from a much more op- 'preſſive ariſtocracy, not founded, like that of Scotland, 'in the natural and reſpectable diſtinctions of birth and for- 'tune, but the moſt odious of all diſtinctions, which more 'than any other animate the inſolence of the oppreſſors, 'and the hatred and indignation of the oppreſſed, and which 'commonly render the inhabitants of the ſame country more 'hoſtile than thoſe of other countries ever are.—Without 'a Union with Great Britain the inhabitants of Ireland are 'not likely, for many ages, to conſider themſelves as one 'people [a].'

Among the evils with which the opponents of a Union alarm the people of Ireland as likely to befal their country from that meaſure, are, an increaſed emigration, and the

[a] Vol. iii. p. 460.

permanent

permanent or temporary non-reſidence of a great number of perſons of rank and opulence [a].

The general complaint againſt abſentees is of a very long ſtanding. For my own part, I have never been of the number of thoſe who imagine that law and poſitive regulation can with effect, or ought in propriety to be applied in reſtriction of the natural liberty which belongs to every individual, of fixing his reſidence, exerciſing his talents and induſtry, or ſpending his income, wherever he thinks it moſt agreeable. A general *ne exeant regno* would be a ſtrange part of the ſyſtem of any government, and that country muſt be of a ſingular deſcription which requires that its natives ſhould be impriſoned within its limits by the ſanction of penal law and pecuniary mulcts. If you can but reſtore, or rather eſtabliſh tranquility, police, the ſecurity of life and property, in Ireland, depend upon it the happy ſoil and ſalubrious climate of that favoured iſland, its almoſt unrivalled advantages for trade and agriculture, added to the powerful ſentiment which attaches mankind in general, with a fond preposſeſſion, to the place which gave them birth, will fix at home, or attract with all the riches their abilities or diligence may have acquired for them in other parts of the world, ſuch numbers of Iriſhmen now prompted to emigrate or detained from returning by the unſettled ſtate of their native country, as will more than counterbalance whatever non-reſidence may ariſe from the periodical ſittings of the common Parliament in Great Britain.

That non-reſidence will be only occaſional. It will

[a] Mr. *Foſter*'s Speech, p. 62. 64. 91. 93. Vide ſome important obſervations on the ſubject of abſentees, Subſtance of Lord *Sheffield*'s Speech, p. 29, &c.

reach little further than the members of the Legiſlature and their families. The ſeat of judicature and the local executive government will, I preſume, continue where they are; and I believe thoſe who frequent the gayer walks of life will not ſuppoſe that the votaries of pleaſure and diſſipation in Ireland will think the circumſtance of the Iriſh Parliamentary repreſentation reſorting to London any great addition to the allurements of that place. That part of the population of this metropolis and of Bath will remain pretty much as before.

Indeed, I cannot help thinking there are ſeveral very ſtrong reaſons in favour of the probability, that, on the whole, the fear entertained of a drain of wealth and population by an increaſe of abſentees would not be verified by the event.

Will the Houſe give me leave here to recall to their recollection the obſervation of a Noble Lord[a] on this part of the argument, which ſtruck me as of great weight, namely, that the importance of a ſeat in the united and imperial Legiſlature, the election to which, whether in Great Britain or Ireland, would then be indifferent to many perſons anxious to obtain it, would be felt by men poſſeſſed of property and intereſt in the latter kingdom as much greater than that of one in her preſent local Parliament. They would therefore have a more powerful motive for attending to the cultivation of their influence there; and this could only be done effectually by frequent reſidence on their eſtates, and the expenditure of a conſiderable part of their Iriſh income, perhaps of their Engliſh alſo, in Ireland. This muſt particularly happen in regard to county elections, in favour of which ſort of repreſentation I make no ſcruple to acknowlege my pre-

[a] Lord *Hawkeſbury*.

dilection,

dilection, and to thoſe in towns where the right is popular and extenſive[d].

If the abſence of perſons of diſtinction and fortune were to increaſe, we have heard the very reſpectable opinion of an Honourable Gentleman[e], who ſeemed to ſpeak on the ſubject from reflection and perſonal obſervation, and who muſt be conſidered as deſerving peculiar attention in regard to it, that the merchant and manufacturer would probably feel their means and diſpoſition for exertion expand, and their efforts become more ſucceſsful; that they would, as it were, breathe a freer air, by the removal from their neighbourhood, of the ſplendour and dignity of rank and hereditary opulence; and that, as the flouriſhing condition of trade and manufactures naturally tends to augment the population of a country, this effect would much more than counteract the miſchief apprehended. The Honourable Gentleman ſpoke indeed with liberal and laudable ſentiments of reſpect for that ariſtocracy, which forms ſo eſſential a part of our excellent conſtitution, but he ſeemed to entertain the idea that commerce and induſtry, though they live by the demands and conſumption of the great, thrive beſt at a diſtance from them—

Urit enim fulgore ſuo qui prægravat artes
Infra ſe poſitas.

With great deference, however, to the Honourable Gentleman, I muſt expreſs my doubts on this point, though it is one of which I acknowledge him to be much better qualified to judge than I am. I doubt the juſtneſs of his opi-

[d] I think we have alſo Mr. *Foſter*'s authority for this: 'In county elections and popular boroughs no man now an abſentee can expect to be 'choſen.' p. 91.

[e] Mr. *Peele*.

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nion, becauſe it both differs from the moſt general ſentiments, and militates againſt the arguments in favour of that frequent and eaſy intercourſe between the different, but intimately connected orders and claſſes of our great civil and political ſyſtem, which is ſo gratifying to our feelings, and ſeems ſo conſonant to reaſon.

But as to the ſuppoſed tendency of a parliamentary Union to produce an increaſed emigration and non-reſidence of the great in Ireland, I own I conſider the experimental knowledge we have, in this as in other reſpects, derived from the caſe of Scotland, as of much more weight than any conjectural *à priori* arguments which can be ſuggeſted on the one ſide or the other.

It has often been ſtated, and indeed never denied, that no nobility and gentry reſide more at home than thoſe of that country. They almoſt univerſally paſs the ſummer on their eſtates, occupied in the pleaſures of rural hoſpitality and the improvement of the national agriculture by encouragement and example; and many of them ſpend the reſt of the year in Edinburgh. The wonderful advances that Capital of the country has made in its ſize, population, wealth, convenience, and elegance, ſince the Union and removal of its Parliament, are notorious from univerſal report to all, and from perſonal knowledge to many who hear me. I will not ſay that the Union has cauſed this; that it has had a chief ſhare in producing the great general improvement in Scotland, I think I have ſhewn to be extremely probable; but it is evident, at leaſt, that the Union has not prevented the increaſed proſperity of Edinburgh.

Yet the advocates againſt that meaſure in Scotland were

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as loud and as poſitive in their prophecies, that this ancient ſeat of Majeſty, on the removal of the Legiſlature, would ſink into poverty, miſery, and deſolation, as many in Ireland have been of late, on ſimilar grounds, in foretelling to the great and reſpectable metropolis of that kingdom, that its ruin will be the infallible and ſpeedy conſequence of the meaſure now under conſideration. Indeed the common people of Dublin have had this topic ſo impreſſed on their minds in every poſſible way, that many of them, I believe, have at laſt been brought almoſt to give literal credit to the ironical prediction, that when the Parliament ſhall ceaſe to ſit there, the town will become ſuch a perfect *rus in urbe*, as to furniſh a new ſource of proviſions for victualling the Britiſh fleet by the extenſive paſtures into which its ſtreets and ſquares are to be converted. It ſeems almoſt ridiculous to ſay that ſuch ſort of arguments can have ſucceeded, yet I verily believe they have to a very conſiderable degree. Nay, more, I have ſeen it aſſerted in ſome publication againſt the propoſed Union, with a confidence which hardly could have exiſted without the author's own belief of the fact, that Edinburgh, whatever may be pretended to the contrary, has, in truth, been in a conſtant ſtate of decay ever ſince the loſs of the Parliament. The only anſwer ſuch an ignorant aſſertion ſeems to deſerve, is that ludicrous one I have read in one of the polemical writers in favour of the meaſure, who ſuppoſes himſelf to be told by a correſpondent that he has found with regret the fact was really ſo; for that upon inquiry among ſome gentlemen and ladies, natives of Scotland, and inhabitants of Edinburgh, they had aſſured him, that that ancient city had ſuffered ſo very much from the fatal event of the Union, that the Scotch had been actually under the neceſſity of building a very large new one cloſe to it.

Sir,

Sir, a learned gentleman of our ſiſter kingdom, whoſe tract againſt the Union is certainly the performance of a man of abilities[d], has, however, a very curious way of arguing on the fact, which he admits, that the Union has not occaſioned emigration and non-reſidence in Scotland; but the analogy of which, in regard to what there may be reaſon to expect in the caſe of Ireland, he will by no means allow. The fact he admits in theſe very ſtrong terms: 'Can there be adduced five inſtances of men of rank in 'Scotland, however powerful and extended their Engliſh 'connexions, whoſe chief or leaſt temporary reſidence is 'not in Scotland[e]?' And again: A Scotch abſentee is 'only a political or commercial ſpeculator, who will in the 'end enrich and adorn his native country: his money, ac-'quired where it may be, and after abſence ever ſo long, 'centers there[f].'

But this, it ſeems, is all the anomalous effect of a peculiar nationality in the Scotch[g], which a ſimilarity of circumſtances has no tendency to produce in any other people, and eſpecially not in the Iriſh; though many of the inhabitants of one part of that country are not very diſtant deſcendants from Scottiſh anceſtors, and moſt of the reſt throughout the kingdom are probably either ſprung from one common Celtic ſtock with the Highlanders, or elſe of that Saxon or Teutonic race who appear, in the early ages of the Chriſtian æra, to have over-run and ſettled themſelves in all the low country of Scotland as well as of England.

[d] A Reply, &c. by *Richard Jebb*, Eſq.
[e] Ibid. p. 49. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.

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An Iriſhman, it ſeems, is a being of a different ſort. 'Scarcely an inſtance,' it is ſaid, 'occurs of the wealth 'and influence obtained by Iriſhmen in England, produc- 'ing advantage to Ireland: they ſeem aſhamed of the 'name, and eager to diveſt themſelves of all pretenſions 'to it.'[1]

Alas! Sir, it is painful to ſee that men of underſtanding can reſort to ſuch grounds of oppoſition, or ſuffer themſelves to fall into reaſonings and opinions ſcarcely fit for the moſt ordinary minds, and entirely unworthy of the cultivated ſenſe which ſeems to belong to this gentleman, and ought to be the attribute of all who profeſs themſelves either lawyers or ſtateſmen.

If the difference in the general conduct of the Iriſh and Scotch were really as notorious as he has perſuaded himſelf it is, the experiment of the effects of an Union upon the former has not been tried, and he does not appear to have made any inquiry how the caſe ſtood as to abſentees from Scotland previous to 1707. He found an eaſier ſolution of the ſuppoſed difference in the hackneyed imputation or praiſe of Scotch nationality; he ſays it is *a praiſe*,[2] and when duly regulated I think it is, though I verily believe not more due to the Scotch, than, where circumſtances happen to be ſimilar, to the Yorkſhire, Corniſh, or Welſh man; or indeed to Frenchmen, Swedes, Danes, Germans, or Italians.

I imagine this gentleman would take it very ill, I think with reaſon, if a ſtranger were to pronounce ſo

[1] A Reply, &c. by *Richard Jebb*, Eſq. p. 49.
[2] Ibid, p. 50.

unjuſt a judgment as he has done upon his countrymen. Unjuſt I certainly think it is; I myſelf could mention various ſtriking inſtances to the contrary of what he has alledged. I could ſelect from many others the example of a reſpectable Nobleman of that country, who, after filling with great honour and credit ſome of the principal offices of government here, retired to Ireland, and ſucceſsfully devoted the remainder of his days to the improvement of that part of the kingdom where his chief property lay; having ever been, through the courſe of his political life, a watchful guardian of the intereſts and well-being of the whole. I mean the late Lord *Hillſborough*, whom I mention with the more pleaſure, becauſe he who underſtood the affairs of Ireland ſo well, is known to have been always a ſtrenuous and anxious advocate for a legiſlative Union. Sir, I could in like manner ſpecify examples of Iriſh gentlemen in other walks of life, who having by their talents and exertions in remote countries, in the Eaſt and in the Weſt, acquired eminence and fortune, have returned to their native land, and, veſting their riches in purchaſes there, have become active and uſeful magiſtrates, able commanders of the national troops, and members both of the one and the other Houſe of Parliament.

But even if it were true, that ſuch inſtances have been more rare in Ireland than in Scotland, would it be any very extravagant conjecture to ſuppoſe, that the real reaſons have been the greater tranquillity which prevails in the one in conſequence of an Union, and the more turbulent and unſettled ſtate of the other for want of it? Would not thoſe indiſputable circumſtances of difference account for ſuch a difference in the conduct of the natives of the two countries, more ſatisfactorily than ſuppoſed diſtinc-

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tions of national character, which may ſerve to amuſe in a farce, or occaſion merriment or quarrels in a coffee-houſe, but can never be entitled to hold a place in grave diſcuſſion or ſerious debate?

But, Sir, the Gentlemen who in this place have reſiſted the progreſs of the buſineſs now again brought before us;—as well thoſe who object to the competency and general expediency;—as well the very few who I think have gone the length of declaring a rooted opinion, that the Union never can, at any time, or with any ſort of conſent, be adviſable;—as thoſe who profeſs, ſome a *belief*, others even a *wiſh*, that it may at ſome future period be adopted;—all appear to concur in contending, that the preſent time and occaſion are unfit; that the people of Ireland are not prepared; that they have not been habituated to the contemplation of the meaſure, as thoſe of Scotland had been for above a century; that they have inveterate prejudices againſt it, which have now univerſally manifeſted themſelves, and which ought to be firſt by gentle and gradual means removed: whereas, as has alſo been alledged, it was always the favourite project of Scotland. Laſtly, two other plans have been propounded,—plans widely different the one from the other,—by which it is ſuppoſed that thoſe diſorders and misfortunes of Ireland which a legiſlative Union would only exaggerate, might be cured, and the dangers which are apprehended even to Great Britain from ſuch a Union, prevented.

As to the time, I differ ſo much from thoſe Gentlemen, that if on other occaſions the meaſure would have been *wiſe*, I believe it has now become *neceſſary*. In ſupport of which opinion, I cannot imagine a more convincing argu-

argument than the avowed, *the long avowed*, fear of a *Union*, among that too numerous claſs of men in Ireland, who have now openly profeſſed their plan and object to be, a *Separation*. I need not again mention the declarations of *Tone*, or the confeſſions of *Emmet*, *M'Nevin*, and others. The proof is deeply engraven on all our memories. It has been written in characters of blood over the whole face of that deſolated iſland. But when I know that the aſſociates of thoſe very men by whom the arms were forged which were intended for the deſtruction of the true independency, liberty, and conſtitution of their country, and who prepared that moral and political poiſon which was to corrupt and extinguiſh every virtuous and religious, every Britiſh principle, in the minds of their country, are full of trembling apprehenſions, leſt this ſalutary antidote ſhould be adminiſtered in time—can I, aware as I am of the profound no leſs than wicked views, and the no leſs extraordinary than perverted talents of ſome of thoſe men—can I withſtand ſuch ſtrong confirmation of the opinion, which on other, and more general grounds, forces itſelf ſo powerfully on my mind, that we are come at laſt to that only alternative, *ſpeedy Union*, or *early Separation ?*

As to thoſe other and more general grounds to which I have once before alluded, I wiſh I could, conſiſtently with the orders of the Houſe, refer to the ſtrong and demonſtrative reaſoning concerning them, which ſome of us may have had an opportunity of hearing delivered elſewhere.[3] They are among the moſt important branches of the ſubject, but are too copious and extenſive for me to enter upon at preſent.

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[3] Lord *Minto*'s Speech in the Houſe of Lords, 11th April 1799, ſince printed.

It is ſaid, we ought to wait for a moment of peace and general tranquillity. If by this is underſtood general internal tranquillity in Ireland, I am afraid, to judge of the future by the paſt, the adjournment muſt be, as my Right Hon. Friend[4] deſcribed it, *ad Græcas Kalendas*. But are we to wait till the general peace of Europe ſhall be reſtored? Alas! there ſeems at preſent no very near or diſtinct epoch diſcernible for that happy event. And in the mean time, our enemies, in directing their arts and their arms to their favourite object of wreſting from us our ſiſter kingdom, are to enjoy the advantages accruing to them, both from the want of a true political conſent of parts in the preſent complex and ill-conſtructed machine of our imperial legiſlation, and from the cunning induſtry of their revolutionary allies in Ireland, who even now are endeavouring to obtain the co-operation of ſome of the men who have hitherto been their moſt determined foes, and the moſt zealous friends of Great Britain, by working on their blind and unfounded jealouſy of the Britiſh Parliament, and entrapping thoſe infatuated perſons into a conduct which, if not counteracted, may enable them to accompliſh the fatal end of their deteſtable conſpiracies.

Was the Union in Scotland undertaken or carried into effect in a time of external or domeſtic peace? Far otherwiſe. But then it is ſaid, that when it was negotiated and completed, the arms of Great Britain and her allies[5] were triumphant. In anſwer to this, it need only be obſerved, that the treaty muſt be conſidered as having

[4] Mr. *Windham*.

[5] The ſucceſs of his Majeſty's allies, ſince the time when this was ſtated, has fortunately rendered the parallel more exact in that particular than it could then have been contended to be.

having been commenced and in progreſs from the very beginning of the reign of Queen Anne, and when affairs abroad wore a very gloomy aſpect. As to thoſe at home, they muſt have caſt a very careleſs, or a very partial eye, on that period of our hiſtory, who do not perceive, in the circumſtances of a diſputed ſucceſſion, the yet recent concuſſion of the Revolution, the numerous adherents of the exiled family in both kingdoms, the jarring intereſts of the two countries, and the diſſenſions between them on account of religion and commerce, a complication of political difficulties as great, though of a different nature, perhaps much greater, than any that exiſt at preſent.

In truth, though at firſt ſight it appears reaſonable to think that times of tranquillity are beſt adapted to the diſcuſſion and accompliſhment of great political arrangements, this ſpeculation, on cloſer attention, does not ſeem to be warranted, either by the nature or hiſtory of mankind. On the contrary, I believe it will be found, that men and nations are too indolent for great exertions, 'enterpriſes of pith and moment,' while in the undiſturbed enjoyment of quiet proſperity; and that to all their moſt memorable efforts of that ſort, they have been ſtimulated by the urgency of perſonal or national calamity, or at leaſt of private or public difficulties and embarraſſment.

I admit that the idea of a legiſlative Union was long familiar in Scotland; but I deny that it now comes unawares, and by ſurpriſe, upon Ireland. I am, on the contrary, well perſuaded, that ſuch a plan for that country muſt have been uniformly preſent to the minds (I will not ſay always in the intention) of every miniſter, every ſtateſman,

ſtateſman, every politician, every enlightened member of Parliament, every man, in ſhort, in that kingdom, qualified and entitled to judge of ſuch queſtions, for a ſpace of time conſiderably longer than what elapſed between the Union of the Crowns and that of the Parliaments of this country. I will endeavour to prove this to the ſatisfaction of the Houſe, by a deduction of clear, hiſtorical facts.

To ſay nothing of the actual, though imperfect and illegal incorporation under the Uſurper, you know, Sir, that in the reign of Charles II. by a Report of the Council of Trade in Ireland to the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council there, dated the 25th of March 1676, that Board expreſsly recommended, 'That endeavours 'ſhould be uſed for the Union of the kingdoms under 'one legiſlative power, proportionably, as was here-'tofore done in the caſe of Wales.' I cite the very words of the Report, which is ſtated to have been drawn by Sir *William Petty*, and who, in his treatiſe called 'The Political Anatomy of Ireland,' written, I believe, a few years before, had delivered his individual opinion to the ſame purpoſe. 'If,' ſays he, 'both 'kingdoms were under one legiſlative power and Par-'liament, the numbers whereof ſhould be proportionable 'in power and wealth of each nation, there would be 'no danger ſuch a Parliament ſhould do any thing to the 'prejudice of the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland; nor 'could the Iriſh ever complain of partiality, when 'they ſhall be freely and proportionably repreſented in all 'Legiſlatures.'[6]

In

[6] *Petty*'s Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 31.

In the year 1698, Mr. *Molyneux*, in that paſſage of his famous pamphlet called 'The Caſe of Ireland,' which was mentioned by the firſt authority in this Houſe in the Committee on the Reſolutions,[7] clearly points to a repreſentation of Ireland in a united Parliament as a moſt deſirable arrangement for that country. His words are theſe:

'If, from theſe laſt-mentioned records, it be concluded that the Parliament of England may bind Ireland, it muſt alſo be allowed that the people of Ireland ought to have their repreſentatives in the Parliament of England. And this I believe we ſhould be willing enough to embrace: but this is an happineſs we can hardly hope for.'[8]

And here I cannot help noticing a very ſingular fraud, or negative ſort of forgery, committed in an edition of *Molyneux*'s work, which was printed in Dublin in the year 1783. In that edition the words 'and this I believe we ſhould be willing enough to embrace: but this is a happineſs we can hardly hope for;' were totally omitted. This circumſtance I firſt ſaw pointed out in a note to a very able pamphlet lately publiſhed, entitled, 'Reaſons for adopting an Union between Great Britain and Ireland.' I have ſince been favoured by the author of that pamphlet with a copy of the caſtrated edition, the publiſher of which could not have proved ſo ſtrongly, in any other way, at once his own hoſtility to the meaſure of a Union, and the ſenſe he juſtly entertained of the weight

[7] Vide Mr. *Addington*'s Speech, p. 18.

[8] London edition in 1770, p. 74. There is a preface to this edition, reported to have been written by the late Mr. *Flood*, with which it was republiſhed in Dublin in 1773.

weight of ſuch an opinion in its favour as that of *Molyneux*, the able and learned advocate of Iriſh independency.

But, Sir, in 1703, at the time when a ſimilar meaſure was ſo particularly in the contemplation of the Engliſh Government with regard to Scotland, a legiſlative Union was in a manner ſued for, and ſued for in vain, by the Parliament of Ireland. This appears ſufficiently from the Journals of the two Houſes of that Parliament; but I have had an opportunity alſo of ſeeing the correſpondence at that time of the Duke of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant, and of his Chief Secretary Mr. *Southwell*, and the Lord Chancellor *Cox*, with the Government here, from which it is ſtill more manifeſt that many of the leading characters in the country, the Chancellor particularly, Mr. *Brodrick* the Speaker, and I think even the Secretary himſelf, were very deſirous of the meaſure, but that the Lord Lieutenant was lukewarm, and the miniſtry in England totally averſe to it.

That Parliament met on the 21ſt of September, and on the 1ſt of October the Lords voted an addreſs to the Queen, which concluded with theſe words: 'As we are 'ſenſible our preſervation is owing to our being united 'to the Crown of England, ſo we are convinced it 'would tend to our farther ſecurity and happineſs to 'have a more comprehenſive and entire Union with that 'kingdom'. I ſhall ſhew immediately the anſwer ſent from England to this addreſs.

As it appears not to have been the intention of the Adminiſtration here to liſten to ſuch a ſuggeſtion for the

T king-

[1] Iriſh Lords' Journals, vol. ii. p. 8.

kingdom of Ireland, and ſupplies, not general meaſures of policy, ſeeming to have been conſidered as the material buſineſs of the ſeſſion, one is not ſurpriſed to diſcover in Mr. *Southwell*'s firſt diſpatches on its opening, conſiderable impatience *as a miniſter*, whatever his *private* opinion as to a Union might be, at finding the Houſe of Commons more willing to deliberate on matters of that ſort, than ready to ſatisfy the pecuniary exigencies of the Government. On the 25th, in a letter to Lord *Nottingham*, he ſays, 'It is a miſerable fatigue we are 'under. We are forced to uſe a great deal of claret, 'and a great many arguments, and all little enough. 'There is a moſt ſtrange mixture of Scotch and fana-'tical principles, which ſours the maſs. They are jea-'lous of every thing; and were it not that my Lord 'Lieutenant has a great perſonal intereſt, nothing at all 'would be done.' This he means in regard to the ſupplies, which the Lord Lieutenant endeavoured to obtain for three years, but which attempt, after every effort, he was obliged to abandon, a grant even for two having paſſed with difficulty.

In a ſhort time, both houſes formed themſelves into Committees on the ſtate of the nation. Two days before that of the Houſe of Commons ſat, Mr. *Southwell* writes to Lord *Nottingham* his conjectures about the event, as follows: 'Next Monday is appointed to conſider of the ſtate 'of the nation; and I believe it will end in this, after 'conſidering ſome difficulties they lie under, to make 'ſome repreſentation, full of temper and moderation, 'for gaining ſome relief in thoſe points; *and many even 'talk of a Union.*'

When

When the Committee took place, it appears that the wiſh for that meaſure was ſtill more general than he had foreſeen.

'This day,' ſays he, in a letter written at night to the ſame Nobleman [1], 'the Houſe of Commons had 'appointed to go into the ſtate of the nation; and after 'ſome hours ſitting, and conſidering the many misfor- 'tunes the country lay under, in point of trade and 'other circumſtances, *all the ſpeakers concluded, that they 'did, in the moſt earneſt manner, deſire a Union with Eng- 'land*, and they have appointed Friday next to conſider 'that matter, and how to repreſent the ſame to the 'Lord Lieutenant, to lay it before her Majeſty, that her 'Majeſty may interpoſe with the Parliament of England 'in that affair. I muſt needs own, that the great tem- 'per and good diſpoſition of the debate ſurpriſed moſt 'people; and thoſe things which ſeemed to be the loud- 'eſt grievances were touched with all the true ſenſe, but 'at the ſame time with the true diſpoſition, as if they 'deſired nothing more, which I hope will incline the 'next ſeſſion [2], by her Majeſty's mediation, to cultivate 'this good diſpoſition.'

It is from the tenour of this letter, and ſome others in the ſame ſpirit, that I infer both that the ſober wiſh and opinion of the leading men was ſtrongly in favour of a Union, and that Mr. *Southwell* himſelf was inclined to it.

The

[1] Oct. 4.

[2] *i. e.* Of the *Engliſh* Parliament, which met in the beginning of the following month, Nov. 1703.

The Houſe ſat in the Committee on ſeveral different days; and it appears [3] that the Speaker, Mr. *Brodrick*, took an active part in framing certain reſolutions, which were reported by Mr. *Moleſworth*, the Chairman, on the 11th; and the laſt of which was, 'that her Majeſty be 'moſt humbly moved, that through her princely good-'neſs, and wiſdom, and favourable interpoſition, her 'ſubjects of this kingdom may be relieved from the 'calamities they now lie under, by a full enjoyment of 'their conſtitution, *or a more firm and ſtrict Union with* 'England [4].'

Theſe reſolutions were afterwards formed into a Repreſentation addreſſed to the Queen, which concluded nearly to the ſame effect. The Repreſentation was voted on the 20th of October.

On the 25th the Houſe of Lords reſolved, 'Upon due 'conſideration of the preſent conſtitution of this king-'dom, that ſuch an humble repreſentation be made to 'the Queen, of the ſtate and condition thereof, as may 'beſt incline her Majeſty, by ſuch proper means as to 'her Majeſty ſhall ſeem fit, for promoting ſuch an 'Union with England as may qualify the ſtates of this 'kingdom to be repreſented in the Parliament there [5].'

I do not find that any farther ſtep was taken by that Houſe in conſequence of this reſolution. The Queen's anſwer to their addreſs was couched in obliging terms, but took

[3] Mr. *Southwell*'s Letter to Lord *Nottingham*, 9th Oct. 1703.
[4] Journals of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, vol. iii. p. 45.
[5] Journals of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, vol. ii. p. 29.

took no notice whatever of the ſuggeſtion relative to a Union[6].

That to the Repreſentation of the Commons was in leſs gracious language: 'Her Majeſty having conſidered 'of the Repreſentation made by the Houſe of Commons 'in Ireland, has commanded this anſwer to be returned: 'That the firſt part ſeems to relate to matters paſt in 'Parliament, and the other part' (in which a Union was mentioned) 'conſiſting only of things in general, 'her Majeſty can give no particular anſwer at preſent, 'but will take them into her conſideration.'

It was not received till the 11th of February[7], at an interval of near four months from the delivery of the Repreſentation to the Lord Lieutenant[8].

It is difficult to conceive what good reaſons could have been ſtated by the Adminiſtration of England at that time for rejecting, in ſo harſh and diſdainful a manner, advances towards a meaſure which, as the Iriſh Commons juſtly obſerved in their Repreſentation, would unqueſtionably have been to the advantage of that kingdom. Whatever *ratio juſtificativa* they might have been able to plead, it is probable the *ratio ſuaſoria* was, that the buſineſs was chiefly promoted in Ireland by the party they ſuppoſed hoſtile to themſelves. To ſhew how little difficulty the carrying of it into execution was likely to have encountered there, in addition to what I have already ſtated, I will read the concluding paragraph of a letter

[6] It was dated Windſor, 12th Oct. 1703, and communicated to the Lords in Ireland on the 19th of that month. Journals of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, vol. ii. p. 44.

[7] Journals of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, vol. iii. p. 168.

[8] Oct. 22. Ibid. p. 70. 74.

letter from Sir *Richard Cox*, the Chancellor, to Lord *Nottingham*, dated Feb. 13, 1703-4:

'There is no remedy ſo proper for both kingdoms as 'ſome ſort of Union, which would conduce to enrich and 'ſtrengthen England, and eſtabliſh the Engliſh intereſt 'here, and make it proſper; for in that caſe all the Britiſh 'would be good Engliſhmen; and *ſince we do not capitu-* '*late, and you may be your own carvers*, it ſeems worthy your ſerious thoughts to promote ſo good a work.'

And let not Gentlemen ſuppoſe that the Union was then conſidered merely as a refuge from the abject condition of a ſubordinate Legiſlature. Whatever topics the warmth of oppoſition may have introduced into the Repreſentation of the Iriſh Commons, the tranſactions of both Houſes during that ſeſſion completely prove how fully they acted as the uncontrolled branches of a Parliament perfectly *ſui juris*. The Commons with difficulty granted ſupplies for two years, inſtead of for three as had been demanded; and this, after calculating the eſtabliſhment on the loweſt ſcale, and debiting the Treaſury with the outſtanding arrears of revenue, contrary to former practice. The other Houſe, without regard to any offence which might be taken in England, by a ſolemn reſolution aſſerted their ſupreme and excluſive right of appeal, and actually exerciſed it by iſſuing an order under which the Earl of *Meath* was put in poſſeſſion of an eſtate, directly in the teeth of a decree of the Houſe of Lords in England [9].

The

9 Journals of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, vol. ii. p. 24. 28. 30. 34, 35, 36. 41, 42. 44. 52, 53. 62.

The ſpirit of that Houſe in the buſineſs of their judicature may be farther judged of from a paragraph in the letter I have already quoted of Sir *Richard Cox*, to Lord *Nottingham*: 'Your Lordſhip may be pleaſed to 'remember, that from the beginning, and particularly 'in the cloſet before my Lord Treaſurer, I expreſſed 'more apprehenſion from the debates of the Lords than 'of the Commons; for I knew the former would think 'themſelves bound in honour to vindicate a juriſdiction 'they claim as inſeparably inherent to a Houſe of 'Lords, and which they might conceive the Lords in 'England could not oppoſe without ſhaking their own 'foundations.'

About the time when theſe proceedings were going on in the Parliament, the ſubject of a Union between Ireland and this country appears by many publications to have been a very general topic of diſcuſſion out of doors.

Sir *Thomas Brewſter*, who had been a member of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, publiſhed, in the year 1702, a pamphlet, entitled, '*New Eſſays on Trade*,' in which there is a long chapter on the ſubject. I will not trouble the Houſe with all his reaſoning upon it, though it is clearly that of an intelligent and ſenſible man, but I beg leave to read the following ſhort paſſage:

'By this meaſure future rebellions would be pre-'vented, which that kingdom was never long free from. 'Ireland would be then England, and the nation become 'more formidable abroad and ſafer at home—Ireland 'making, as it were, one continent with this iſland, 'which it would become in effect, and more uſefully 'than if it were ſo in reality.'

In

In a book printed in the ſame year, entitled, *Miſcellanea Aulica*,' there is a ſhort paper with this ſuperſcription, 'A Propoſal of ſeveral Officers, and other Gentlemen of Engliſh Extraction in Ireland, for a Union of that Kingdom with England.' There is no date to it; but it muſt have been originally drawn up either in the reign of Charles II. or of King William, as appears by this introductory paragraph:

'*His* Majeſty's good ſubjects in Ireland, upon the hearing of a propoſal made not long ſince for the uniting England and Scotland' (there was, I believe, no ſuch propoſal in James the Second's time,) 'with all obedience and ſubmiſſion humbly conceive it a means conducible thereto, if the like Union of England and Ireland, under *one legiſlative power aſſembled in one Parliament*, might be reſettled *de jure*, in ſomething like the manner it was formerly *de facto*, to the facilitating his Majeſty's gracious government of both kingdoms, diſſolving of many intricate difficulties, taking away much of the root of difference and diſcord between the now many parties in his Majeſty's ſaid kingdoms, and ſtrengthening his hands againſt all oppoſition, both at home and abroad.'

It ſeems pretty clear, from the title and ſtyle of this propoſal, that it was deſigned to be laid before Government, and was the act of ſome known and conſiderable claſs of perſons; ſo that it moſt probably was a matter of general notoriety.

I will mention one other publication of that time, which expreſsly purports to have been ſubmitted to the conſideration of Queen Anne and her Parliament. The title

title, 'An Eſſay upon an Union of Ireland with Eng-'land, moſt humbly offered to the Conſideration of the 'Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty and both Houſes of 'Parliament.' The date, in the copy I have ſeen, is 'Dublin, reprinted, 1704.'

This author ſtates his opinion, that while Ireland continues a diſtinct kingdom, the only precautions England can take to prevent any danger that may ariſe to it from that country, are, 1ſt, to entruſt the Government there entirely in the hands of Engliſhmen; or, 2dly, to check the growth of that kingdom in point of trade and wealth, ſo that it may not be able to attempt any thing againſt the conſtitution of England. He afterwards enters into a variety of arguments to ſhew the equal injuſtice and impolicy of either of thoſe methods, and then comes to his propoſal of a Union, which he ſupports in a manner very clear and forcible, on conſiderations reſpecting the intereſts and relative ſituation of the two kingdoms, proving himſelf (whoever he was) to have been a perſon of more than ordinary information and abilities.

Thus, Sir, I think I have ſhewn that this idea, now ſaid to be ſo novel to Ireland, muſt have been in the general contemplation of all thinking people in that country from the days of *Cromwell* to the period of the Union of England and Scotland.

Upon that event the hopes of thoſe true patriots in Ireland, as I muſt conſider them, who wiſhed for the bleſſing of a like Union to their own country, ſeem to have revived, while the Engliſh Miniſters of that day continued to feel the ſame diſinclination to it, which had

been manifeſted by thoſe in power at the beginning of the reign.

In the ſpeech of the Earl of *Pembroke*, then Lord Lieutenant, at the opening of the ſeſſion on the 7th of July 1707, ſo memorable and important an occurrence as the Union with Scotland, was not even mentioned.[1] But the Commons that very day reſolved on an addreſs of congratulation to her Majeſty, 'on the accompliſhment of the 'great work of uniting her Majeſty's kingdoms of Eng-'land and Scotland.'[2] Mr. *Brodrick* was chairman of the committee who prepared it, and it is drawn in ſuch warm language of admiration as clearly evinces how great an impreſſion the ſubject had made: 'We crave 'leave to lay hold of the earlieſt opportunity humbly to 'addreſs your Majeſty with our moſt hearty and ſincere 'congratulations, for the inward joy and ſatisfaction you 'are bleſſed with, and the glory you have acquired by 'accompliſhing the Union of your Majeſty's kingdoms 'of England and Scotland. This great and glorious work, 'which your anceſtors, with their utmoſt endeavours, la-'boured to accompliſh, lay above the reach and wiſdom 'of former times, and ſeems to have been reſerved by 'Heaven for your Majeſty's reign, as one great reward 'of an exemplary piety and heroic virtue, ſignally de-'monſtrated in what you have reſolutely undertaken, and 'ſucceſsfully carried on, to procure the general happineſs, 'and ſecure the liberty of Europe. The difficulty of the 'attempt required the greateſt genius to ſurmount it; 'and we cannot but highly honour and admire the 'wiſdom of thoſe councils that have by it given a further 'ſecurity

[1] Journals of the Iriſh Lords, vol. ii. p. 153. Of the Houſe of Commons, vol. iii. p. 364.

[2] Journals of Iriſh Commons, vol. iii. p. 365.

'ſecurity to the peace and ſafety of your Majeſty's govern-
'ment, the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the church as by
'law eſtabliſhed in England and Ireland. *May God put*
'*it in your royal heart to add greater ſtrength and luſtre to*
'*your crown, by a ſtill more comprehenſive Union.*'[3]

The Lords expreſſed themſelves to the ſame effect, though not quite in ſuch direct terms: 'We congratu-
'late the glorious ſucceſs of your Majeſty's endeavours
'for ſecuring, by your arms abroad, the liberties of Eu-
'rope, and the welfare of your ſubjects at home, by
'uniting Great Britain into one body under the ſame
'Proteſtant ſucceſſion to the throne of all your dominions.
'We are ſenſible how effectual a means that will prove
'to prevent the attempts of Papiſts from diſturbing the
'quiet of your Majeſty's empire, and particularly of this
'kingdom, that has been ſo often endangered by them.
'*May your Majeſty go on and extend your favour to all your*
'*ſubjects till none are excluded from ſo great a bleſſing*, but
'ſuch as by their own frowardneſs or diſaffection to
'the public good bar themſelves from the general advan-
'tages of your Majeſty's reign.'[4]

The Queen's anſwer to the Commons was in theſe very general and evaſive terms: 'The Commons may be
'aſſured, that nothing ſhall be wanting on her part to
'make the Union of all her ſubjects as extenſive as is
'poſſible.'[5] And although in their new addreſs of thanks for this anſwer they ſeem to have been deſirous to give it an interpretation applicable to the meaſure they had in contemplation, declaring that 'The aſſurance
'her

[3] Journals of the Iriſh Commons, vol. iii. p. 338.
[4] 15th July 1707, Journals of Iriſh Lords, vol. ii. p. 161.
[5] 30th July 1707, Journals of Iriſh Commons, vol. iii. p. 420.

'her Majeſty had been pleaſed to give them, had inſpired 'them with hopes of *an addition* to the many bleſſings they 'enjoyed under her moſt auſpicious reign;'[6] yet no real encouragement being given to their overtures on the ſubject, the matter was proſecuted no farther. The whole of the anſwer to the addreſs of the Lords was in theſe formal, cold, and diſheartening words: 'Her Majeſty returns 'their Lordſhips her hearty thanks for their addreſs, and 'is very ſenſible of their zeal for hers and the public 'ſervice. Her Majeſty is alſo very well pleaſed with 'the ſatisfaction their Lordſhips expreſs in her endea-'vours to unite all her ſubjects.'[7]

The Engliſh Government and the Iriſh Parliament had one very natural ſentiment in common, the apprehenſion of danger from the great number of Catholics in Ireland, who continued attached to a dethroned monarch of the ſame religion with themſelves. But the Parliament ſeems to have looked to a legiſlative Union as the ſureſt protection againſt this danger. The Miniſters in England preferred the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of ſevere penalties and diſqualifications againſt Papiſts, reſtrictive of the rights, as well civil as political, which, till then, they had enjoyed in that country equally with their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects. And the attempt to engage the Queen in the meaſure they had recommended having failed, the Parliament, ſeeing no third courſe, thought themſelves compelled to co-operate with the Crown in adopting the other expedient. It has, accordingly, been truly remarked by a great authority in the ſiſter kingdom, 'That it was not till the propoſition to unite the Le-'giſlatures

[6] 31ſt July 1707, Journals of Iriſh Commons, vol. iii. p. 421.

[7] Journals of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, 4th Auguſt 1707, vol. ii. p. 180.

'giſlatures of the two countries had proved abortive, that 'the great code of the popery laws of Ireland was 'enacted.'[a]

I do not find the matter of Union to have been afterwards revived in the Iriſh Parliament, but it ſtill continued to be a very general and frequent ſubject of public diſcuſſion in both kingdoms.

In *Cato*'s Letters, a work, I believe, of univerſal circulation about the middle of the enſuing reign, Mr. *Trenchard*, who was peculiarly verſed in the concerns of Ireland, recommended it in the following terms, which conclude one of the letters in that collection written by him, and entitled, 'On Plantations and Colonies:' 'Ireland is too powerful to be treated only as a colony. '*If we deſign to continue them friends*, the beſt way to do it '' is to imitate the example of merchants and ſhopkeepers; 'that is, when their apprentices are acquainted with 'their trade, and out of their time, to take them into 'partnerſhip rather than let them *ſet up for themſelves* 'in the neighbourhood.'[b]

It is very clear that neither he nor any of the earlier writers I have quoted, ever imagined there could be any difficulty or objection raiſed on the part of Ireland.

In the reign of George the IId, about the year 1735, the excellent *Berkeley*, a moſt impartial and enlightened patriot, publiſhed a book on the intereſts of Ireland, called '*The Queriſt*,' from many paſſages in which he appears

[a] Lord *Fitzgibbon*'s Speech in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, 13th March 1793, Iriſh edition, p. 16.

[b] *Cato*'s Letters, 3d edition, vol. iv. Letter I. p. 12.

appears to have had the expediency of a Union, for the advantage both of his native country and this, ſtrongly impreſſed on his mind. In the 90th query particularly, he thus expreſſes himſelf: 'Qu. Whether if it be not the 'true intereſt of both nations to become *one people*, and 'whether either be ſufficiently appriſed of this?'

Dean *Tucker*'s propoſal for 'A Union with Ireland,' was firſt printed, I believe, in the year 1751, in his 'Eſſay on Trade;'[1] a work as generally read and ſtudied in Ireland as Great Britain.

In the year following (1752) a tract appeared under the title of 'A Propoſal for uniting the Kingdoms of Great 'Britain and Ireland.' which was generally underſtood to be the production of a reſpectable Nobleman of the ſiſter kingdom, to whom I have before alluded, the late Marquis of *Downſhire*; and if I am not much miſinformed, this meaſure now under conſideration, *viz.* a legiſlative incorporation, which it was the object of that publication to recommend, was, during the whole of his life, a favourite object with that experienced ſtateſman, a frequent ſubject of his converſation and diſcuſſion in both kingdoms, and ſtrongly recommended by him at different times to the different perſons ſucceſſively at the head of Government.

Sir, I truſt the ſelection I have made, which, though a ſmall part of what might have been ſtated, may, I fear, have appeared tedious to the Houſe, has fully proved my aſſertion, that this ſubject has not come on the ſudden, and by ſurpriſe, on the people and Parliament of Ireland. Indeed

[1] Propoſal 3d and 4th.

Indeed Mr. *Burke* (whoſe name I cannot pronounce without reverence and affection) tells us, in his Letter to Sir *Hercules Langriſhe*, 'that he had heard a diſcuſſion 'concerning an Union amongſt all ſorts of men ever ſince 'he remembered any thing.'[2]

I wiſh I could have added that great man to the liſt of thoſe, both in Ireland and here, who have been decided advocates for the meaſure; but leſt he ſhould be ſuppoſed to have been decidedly of a contrary opinion, I will ſubjoin the candid language in which he goes on in the ſame paſſage to expreſs himſelf concerning it:

'For my own part,' ſays he, 'I have never been able to 'bring my mind to any thing clear and deciſive on the 'ſubject; there cannot be a more arduous queſtion. As 'far as I can form an opinion, it would not be for the 'mutual advantage of both kingdoms; but perſons more 'able than I am think otherwiſe. But whatever the merits 'of this Union may be, to make it a menace it muſt be 'ſhewn to be an evil, and an evil more particularly 'to thoſe who are threatened with it, than to thoſe who 'throw it out as a terror. I really do not ſee how this 'threat can operate, or that the Catholics are more 'likely to be loſers than the Churchmen.'[3]

It cannot have eſcaped the attention of the Houſe, that none of thoſe of whom I have made mention, neither Sir *William Petty*, the Iriſh Council of Trade, the two Houſes of that Parliament in 1703 and 1707, nor Mr. *Trenchard*, Biſhop *Berkeley*, Dean *Tucker*, Lord *Downſhire*, or Mr. *Burke*, ever ſeem to have entertained a ſuſpicion

[2] Second edition, p. 75. [3] Ibid.

ſuſpicion of that new diſcovery—the incompetency of the Iriſh Parliament.

What has been ſtated to ſhew the long and continued attention which muſt have been given to the ſubject in Ireland, goes a great way alſo to prove, that there muſt always have been a great number of perſons there, in that ſphere of life in which alone men are to be found in any country capable of underſtanding and judging of ſuch matters, who were ſtrongly of opinion, that a legiſlative Union would be of the utmoſt benefit to theirs.

It has, however, been very confidently averred, that the Iriſh in general have always been averſe to a Union; inſomuch that whenever it has been an object there to render a new Lord Lieutenant unpopular, it has been cuſtomary to give out as a watchword, that he had been ſent over for the purpoſe of effecting that meaſure. I know, Sir, that the art of running down a Lord Lieutenant in former times has been carried to a great degree of perfection in that kingdom, and perhaps it may not yet have fallen into abſolute diſuſe. But is it thought that ſuch a '*politic trick*' (as *De Foe* expreſſes himſelf on a ſimilar ſubject) furniſhes a very ſerious proof of the diſinclination of the majority of that nation to the meaſure? Will thoſe who reaſon in this way deny, that there have been times, and thoſe not very remote, when a cry that the object of a Chief Governor's miſſion was what is called 'Catholic emancipation,' would have been no ineffectual means of exciting the mob of Dublin againſt him, perhaps of embarraſſing or overturning his government? Friends as they are to the admiſſion of the Catholics to an equal participation of political rights, will they conſent to a ſimilar argument being built againſt that favourite

favourite object of theirs on such a circumstance? The truth is, catchwords and quaint abstractions have a wonderful effect sometimes on that multitude; 'Protestant 'ascendancy,' and 'Catholic emancipation,' have each had their day,—both, I believe, coined in the same mint. 'Parliamentary incompetency' may, perhaps, be the favourite at present; but that phrase has too little singularity of diction, and is too plain, as well as too obviously false in its meaning, to have a very long reign.

In fact, however, when artful people have chosen to raise an alarm, or excite prejudices in Ireland against a Union, they have not satisfied themselves with a vague and general description of it; they have accompanied that term with explanations naturally and justly tending to render the measure offensive and obnoxious to the nation. Do we find, when the Council of Trade and the Parliament, when *Molyneux*, and *Berkeley*, and Lord *Hillsborough* recommended it, that they lost the good-will of their country? But when, as in 1759, on an occasion, an account of which has been quoted from the Annual Register of that year,[3] the Union supposed to be in contemplation, has been represented as a measure intended to subject the Irish nation '*to the same taxes with Eng-*'*land*;' when it has been represented, to use the language imputed to a learned Gentleman formerly a member of that Parliament, 'that a Union would be *the par-*'*ticipation of British taxes without British trade*, and ren-'der the kingdom of Ireland a wretched colony, govern-'ed by a few excisemen;'[4]—one does not wonder that with such comments, the indignation of the populace

[3] Vol. ii. p. 129.

[4] Irish Parliamentary Debates, vol. xii. p. 177, 178.

ſhould have been raiſed againſt it; though every body muſt diſapprove of the diſorderly violence by which they were prompted, in 1759, to break into the Houſe of Lords, and commit that ſort of groſs and indecent inſult towards the Throne which has been mentioned, and which another Dublin mob, on a more recent and leſs excuſable occaſion, is ſaid to have practiſed towards the Chair of the Houſe of Commons.

As to the ſuppoſition of a univerſality of ſentiment at preſent manifeſted in Ireland againſt the Union, I muſt not expect that Gentlemen on the other ſide will pay the attention I think they deſerve to my reaſons for diſſenting from it, eſpecially as it was two months ago[5] affirmed in this place, that there were then authentic documents arrived to prove the fact. According to my information, however, at that time only certain meetings in Dublin and its neighbourhood, and in a few of the counties in Leinſter, had declared any ſuch opinion; Cork had addreſſed his Majeſty in favour of a Union, and if I have not been greatly deceived, pretty active endeavours had been uſed, but, up to that time at leaſt, in vain, to procure addreſſes and reſolutions againſt it from various reſpectable counties in the north, the weſt, and the ſouth. Since then, indeed, new addreſſers and reſolvers have appeared, but we have alſo ſeen various counter-reſolutions. Thoſe of the Grand Juries of the firſt city in magnitude and opulence next to Dublin, and of the firſt county, that of Cork, are particularly to be diſtinguiſhed.

Sir, I ſhould be one of the laſt to treat with neglect the real ſenſe of the nation on this or any ſubject;

[5] 11th February.

ject; but which on this, as it ſhall be expreſſed by the ſuffrages of its repreſentatives, muſt ultimately decide the queſtion; or to ſay, that even through ſuch irregular and uncertain organs as county or corporation meetings, the voice of the people is not worthy of the moſt ſerious attention. Yet when I look back on the hiſtory of this country for the laſt century and a half, and on that of France for the laſt *decade* of years, as I ſuppoſe I ought to call it; when I call to mind the addreſſes to *Richard Cromwell* on his ſucceſſion to the Protectorate, thoſe in Scotland againſt the Union of 1707, and thoſe in France calumniating the virtuous and ſaint-like *Lewis* XVI. as a tyrant, and extolling the bloody *Robeſpierre* and his aſſociates as the ſaviours of their country; I muſt be pardoned if I cannot conſider ſuch acts and inſtruments, however numerous, and whatever reſpectable names may be found among the ſubſcriptions to them, as very certain teſts of national opinion. Much leſs as unchangeable teſts; for, ſatisfied as I am of the importance and even neceſſity of this meaſure for the ſafety of Ireland, I will not think ſo ill of one of the moſt intelligent as well as moſt liberal-minded nations that exiſts, though withal, at times, ſomewhat haſty and irritable, as not to believe, when the arts that have been employed to excite their jealouſy and alarm their honourable pride ſhall have been detected, and the illuſions of that ſophiſtry, which has very unfortunately been taken for ſound argument by a few able men among them, (for what abilities are proof againſt prejudice and prepoſſeſſion?) and has been dreſſed up with all the ſkill and talents they poſſeſs, to be circulated among the people at large, ſhall have vaniſhed in the hour of ſober judgment and reflection; that the great majority of the preſent opponents will change their ſentiments, and feel the truth of the old adage, that ſecond thoughts,

thoughts, in matters of ſuch moment, are generally the beſt.

This the Scotch nation have fully experienced by the bleſſings they have derived from the Union of 1707, at firſt ſo ſtrongly oppoſed by ſo many people of every claſs and deſcription in the country. That this was the caſe is as clear, I believe, as any hiſtorical fact whatever; and therefore it has ſeemed very ſtrange to me to hear the reſiſtance made in Scotland at that time, treated by ſome Gentlemen as having been ſlight and inſignificant in compariſon to the oppoſition now exiſting in Ireland to the Union between that country and this; and the meaſure repreſented in truth to have been the general wiſh and deſire of the whole nation. Indeed, Sir, miſtaken notions of the dignity and advantage of a ſeparate and independent Legiſlature, excluſively their own, having exiſted among the Scotch, from the firſt junction of the two Crowns, in at leaſt as exalted a degree as that to which they are now carried in Ireland, I do not underſtand upon what evidence it is alledged that, even at that early period, that nation was anxious for a complete *legiſlative incorporation* with their ſouthern neighbours. James I. who had become the common Sovereign of both, might deſire it. He was certainly deſirous of a ſtricter Union than the mere deſcent of the Engliſh monarchy upon him had produced. And a *legiſlative Union* was undoubtedly in the contemplation of ſome of the great ſtateſmen, with whom he ſeems chiefly to have conſulted on the ſubject, particularly Sir Francis Bacon. But, from a conſideration of the articles agreed to in Scotland on that occaſion, it will be found, that the actual treaty which became the ſubject of negotiation was only of a federal and commercial kind, and intended to eſta-

bliſh

bliſh an equal communication of civil and perſonal rights; but not to incorporate the Parliaments: and the Parliament of that country expreſsly declared, during the progreſs of the buſineſs, '*that the kingdom ſhould remain* '*an abſolute and free monarchy.*'[6]

When, after the Reſtoration, in 1670, the Commiſſioners for both kingdoms came to treat for an efficient incorporation of the two Legiſlatures, though the Scotch ſhewed themſelves perfectly well inclined to the general propoſition, yet, by inſiſting on terms to which they muſt have been ſure England could never agree, namely, that the whole body of the Scotch Parliament, the full number of their Peers and Commoners, ſhould be joined to thoſe of England;[7] they ſeem to me to have proved very clearly that they were not diſpoſed to negotiate upon any practicable or admiſſible conditions. Accordingly, at that time, the affair went off in truth on the part of Scotland.

But to come to the treaty which was carried into effect. That the great majority of the truly wiſe and ſober men of the country, the real patriots and genuine ſtateſmen, and I would add too, the men of the trueſt and moſt elevated and enlightened ambition, earneſtly wiſhed for it, and were vigilant in ſeizing every occaſion and circumſtance which could tend to its completion, I moſt readily allow. But that the factious, the ſeditious, and the rebellious, that many not obnoxious to ſuch charges, but who had either confined their views to that limited ſphere of action, or, like the celebrated *Fletcher*, poſſeſſing great and cultivated minds, had heated their

[6] *Spottiſwoode*, p. 505.

[7] 1ſt November 1670. *De Foe*, p. 61.

their imaginations with notions of government incompatible with the ancient inſtitutions of their country, or any form which an incorporation of the two exiſting conſtitutions could aſſume, but which, from the peculiarly diſordered ſtate of Scotland at the time—chimerical as they were—they vainly hoped they might ſee realized; that all thoſe and various other claſſes of men, forming, perhaps, a majority of the whole, reckoning by tale inſtead of weight, by numbers inſtead of property, were the declared and active enemies of the Union, is, I believe, as certain, as it is, that, by virtue of the manly and ſteady diſregard with which the Adminiſtration of that day treated their hoſtility and violence, one of the moſt important and fortunate political tranſactions recorded in the annals of the world, was brought to a happy concluſion. I would recommend to any man who really has doubts on this point, the re-peruſal and compariſon of the contemporary authors who have written on the ſubject, particularly the two moſt remarkable among them, *De Foe* the able hiſtorian and advocate, and *Lockhart* the defamer and libeller, of the Union.

Permit me to read a paſſage from another writer of the time, Biſhop *Burnet*, as the matter of it, I think, gives us ſtrong encouragement to cheriſh the moſt favourable proſpect of the iſſue of the preſent ſtill more important meaſure.

'The Union,' ſays he, 'of the two kingdoms was 'a work of which many had deſpaired, in which num-'ber I was one; and thoſe who entertained better hopes, 'thought it muſt have run out into a long negotiation for 'ſeveral years; but, beyond all men's expectation, it 'was begun and finiſhed within the compaſs of one.

'The

'The body of the people ſhewed ſo much ſullenneſs, that 'probably, had any perſon of authority once kindled the 'flame, they ſeemed of ſuch combuſtible matter, that 'the Union might have caſt that nation into great con-'vulſions. The Duke of *Queenſberry* deſpaired of ſucceed-'ing, and one about him wrote to the Lord Treaſurer 'reſpecting the ill-temper the nation was *generally* in, 'and moving for an adjournment, that ſo, with the help 'of time and good management, thoſe difficulties, which 'ſeemed then inſuperable, might be conquered.'[8] He adds, 'The Lord Treaſurer told me his anſwer was— 'that a delay was, upon the matter, laying the whole 'deſign aſide.'[9]

Nay, Sir, in the Houſe of Lords, when the treaty came to be debated there, Lord *Haverſham* appears expreſsly to have ſtated, and without being contradicted by any body, 'That though the articles of Union were ra-'tified by the Scotch Parliament, yet the bulk and body 'of that nation ſeemed to be againſt it. Have not,' he ſaid, 'the murmurs of the people there been ſo loud as 'to fill the whole nation, and ſo bold too as to reach even 'to the doors of the Parliament? Has not the Parlia-'ment itſelf thought fit to ſuſpend their beloved clauſe 'in their act of ſecurity, for arming their people, during 'the ſeſſion? Nay, has not the Government, by advice 'of Parliament, iſſued a proclamation, pardoning all 'ſlaughter, bloodſhed, maiming, &c. that is committed 'upon any who are found in any tumults there? I do not 'mention this to find fault with any thing done in Scot-'land, but only to ſhew to your Lordſhips, that where 'ſuch an unuſual proclamation as this is ſet out by the 'advice

[8] *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 462.
[9] Ibid.

'advice of Parliament, and cannot ſtay for the forms of 'a law; when we know that, on extraordinary occaſions, 'a bill may be read three times in a day; ſure, my Lords, 'it ſhews a very great ferment, that requires ſo very 'ſpeedy an application.'[1]

To an infinity of evidence of this contemporaneous ſort, might be added the reſult of that evidence as it has been collected by every hiſtorian who has written on the ſubject in later times, but I will only mention a ſhort ſentence or two from one who, in declaring his opinion of the advantages the Union has produced to both countries, but eſpecially to Scotland, expreſſes himſelf in the following ſtrong and glowing language: 'The Union 'of the two kingdoms, into which the Engliſh entered 'with ſo much facility, and the *Scotch with ſo much re-* '*luctance*, was yet of infinitely higher advantage to the 'latter than the former. An inſeparable connexion was 'thereby formed between them, by which Scotland was 'to experience and augment the happineſs, the glory, and 'the ſtability of England. They were to be conſtant 'companions in proſperity and misfortune; and if Eng-'land is ever to periſh like Carthage, Sparta, and Rome, 'its ſiſter nation will prolong the ſtruggle, hold the for-'tunes of the victor in ſuſpenſe, and exert, in extinction 'and death, that elevation of character, and that diſdain 'of a maſter, which diſtinguiſh and ennoble the revolu-'tions of her hiſtory.'[2]

We have been told that a majority of each of the three claſſes who compoſed the Parliament of Scotland voted for the Union. They did ſo; but it is remarkable, if you take

[1] Continuation of Rapin, vol. xvi. p. 365.

[2] *Stuart's* Hiſtory of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 56.

take each of thoſe three claſſes, which were called Eſtates, ſeparately, and ſuppoſe the concurrence of a majority of each neceſſary, which perhaps it was,[3] that in each of the two Eſtates of commoners that majority was but four, the reſt of the total majority of thirty-three being compoſed of twenty-five noblemen.[4] On the other hand, if you ſuppoſe an abſolute majority *per capita* to have been all that was requiſite, then that total majority fell ſhort by four of the aggregate number of the votes in favour of Union on the diviſions in the two Iriſh Houſes taken together, on the 22d of January laſt, the firſt day the matter was agitated there.

It has been ſtated in this place, in the very face of the proof I have mentioned, and the known facts to which I have referred, that the number of addreſſes and addreſſers in Scotland againſt the meaſure was comparatively ſmall, and the ſymptoms of active oppoſition out of the Parliament ſcarcely any. How muſt the diligent and accurate ſpirit of inveſtigation, which belongs to thoſe who made that aſſertion, have deſerted them in their inquiries on this occaſion? Otherwiſe, could they have overlooked the vaſt number of thoſe addreſſes, amounting to between 80 and 90[5] (while thoſe againſt the commercial propoſitions in 1785, which were thought ſo numerous and proved ſo formidable, were in all but 62,[6]) and the extenſive and diverſified deſcription of the parties ſubſcribing; barons, heritors, and freeholders of, I believe,

[3] Supra, p. 117.

[4] In the Houſe of Lords, on the diviſion on Lord *Bellamont*'s Amendment, the majority for the Union was 36, the numbers being 52 to 16.

[5] According to *De Foe* (p. 329 to 457), juſt 85.

[6] Parliamentary Regiſter, vol. xviii. p. 212.

every county but one in that kingdom, burgeſſes of almoſt every borough, ſynods, preſbyteries, and pariſhes, in every diſtrict of the country? In ſhort, they were ſo numerous, and ſo various, that it was not without colour, that in a famous proteſt, prepared by the oppoſition of that day, it was aſſerted, 'That the ſubjects of this nation 'of all ranks and qualities have generally ſhewn an utter 'averſion to any ſuch Union as is contained in the articles 'now lying before the Houſe.'[7]

Then, Sir, as to the activity of the oppoſition without doors, have the accounts, contained in the authors I have quoted, in *Burnet*, *Lockhart*, and *De Foe*, entirely eſcaped thoſe gentlemen; of the riots at Edinburgh, the inſurrection at Glaſgow, the army of 7000 men in the Weſt, ready and on the wing to advance to the Capital and diſperſe the Parliament?[8] Thank God, we have ſeen nothing of any attempt towards ſuch treaſonable methods of controlling the deliberations of the Iriſh Legiſlature on this occaſion.

Is it worth while to anſwer the obſervation, that the addreſſes were in general (they were not all ſo) againſt *the terms of the Union contained in the articles?* Surely, it cannot be imagined, or at leaſt till lately it could not have been imagined, that many perſons ſhould have been found to join in objecting to entertain or deliberate upon a mere general propoſition of Union undefined by any ſpecific terms whatever. But it is well known that the framers and inſtigators of thoſe addreſſes objected principally

[7] *Lockhart*, p. 298. [8] Ibid. p. 283.

pally to that *eſſential part* of the articles, the incorporation of the Legiſlatures.

It is therefore clear that a much ſtronger prejudice, a much more violent ſpirit, diſcovered themſelves againſt the Scotch Union than it has been poſſible to excite in Ireland on the preſent occaſion. The ſame prejudice certainly continued for a few years afterwards, fomented by the partiſans of the exiled family, on the one hand, and all who wiſhed to thwart the exiſting adminiſtration, on the other; and this prejudice, no doubt, contributed very much to increaſe the temporary infatuation of the Scotch Lords in 1713, who, on the occaſion of the malt-tax I mentioned ſome time ago, moved for the diſſolution of the Union.

But the good ſenſe of that nation, and their early feeling of the benefits daily accruing to them from the meaſure, ſoon appear to have made converts, even of the ſtill numerous claſs of adherents to James. A moſt ſtriking fact in proof of this was mentioned in a former debate by my Right Honourable Friend the Secretary of State. He did not think it neceſſary to ſtate authorities for a circumſtance ſo well known to many perſons converſant in the events of thoſe times; but from his not having done ſo, occaſion was taken to ſuggeſt a doubt concerning it.[8]

A few words will take away every pretext for any ſuch doubt. The fact ſtated was, that the Pretender in 1715, two years only after the affair of the malt, knowing the reſiſtance to the Union which had been ſo very general throughout Scotland at the time it was in agitation, had, in

[8] 7th February, Parliamentary Regiſter, vol. vii. p. 734.

in the manifeſto he was about to iſſue, declared his purpoſe to be that it ſhould be diſſolved, but that upon better inquiry he diſcovered that the country had already become ſo ſenſible of its beneficial conſequences, that ſuch a declaration would injure his cauſe, and that he had therefore altered his deſign, and omitted the intended clauſe in his proclamation.

Now, Sir, this fact, beſides other proof, is completely eſtabliſhed by an extract lately printed in Dr. *Somerville's* Hiſtory of Queen Anne from the manuſcript Memorials of Sir *John Clerk*, a gentleman of character and eminence in the beginning of the century, member of the laſt Parliament of Scotland, and who was much in the confidence of the principal perſons concerned in Scotch affairs at the time of the Union and for many years afterwards. Thoſe Memorials were written freſh as the events occurred, for the uſe and inſtruction of his own family. The words of the manuſcript are theſe: 'The Scots were ſo ſenſible 'of the benefit of the Union, that at the time of the 'rebellion, in 1715, the Pretender was obliged to alter 'that part of his proclamation which promiſed to repeal 'the Union, and to expreſs his determination to leave it 'to the deciſion of Parliament.'[1]

The apprehenſions of inconvenience to Great Britain which I have heard ſtated, have been, 1ſt, removal of capital; 2d, the increaſed numbers in the Houſe of Commons; 3d, ſome ſuppoſed incongruity between the national habits and character of the people of Ireland and of thoſe of this country, which may occaſion an injurious change in the character, modes, and principles of deliberation

[1] *Somerville's* Hiſtory of Queen Anne, p. 228. Note 4.

deliberation and decision of our Legislature. To these I may add an objection which is of a general nature, and not applicable more to the case of the one country than to that of the other; viz. 4th, that a Union on the basis of the Resolutions now before us will be imperfect.

1. As to the removal of capital, I will only say a single word or two, in addition to what I have already very shortly observed on that subject;[2] namely, that if there is, in the overflowing capital of this country, a great deal beyond what is engaged in its commerce and agriculture, that surplus cannot be more advantageously laid out for Great Britain than by the employment of it in what will then make a part of one and the same kingdom. We are indeed told, 'that the capital of 'England is so fully employed, that there is none to 'spare.'[3] But I know not how that opinion is to be reconciled to the eagerness with which, to this moment, we see men ready to engage large sums in every new speculation affording a reasonable prospect of security for their principal, though with a very moderate interest upon it—many people of late, to a great extent of adventure, running the hazard of failure altogether, and yet agreeing to confine their returns, whatever may be the success of the undertaking, within the narrowest limits of what is usually considered as fair mercantile profit, many to 10,[4] some even to 5, per cent. How is

[2] Supra, p. 31, 32.

[3] Mr. *Foster*'s Speech, p. 86.

[4] Ten per cent. is the dividend to which, I believe, Parliament has of late confined most of those enterprises to which its sanction has been given.

is it to be reconciled to the daily inveſtments of large ſums in the ſtocks, while the dividends amount to little more than 5 per cent.? [5] or to the known fact, that an immenſe proportion of the trade of many parts of the continent, I fear no inconſiderable ſhare of that of the enemy, is carried on with Britiſh capital; not to mention what, even under the preſent forbidding circumſtances, is engaged in the commerce of Ireland itſelf? [6]

2. Some Gentlemen dread the acceſſion of a hundred members (I ſpeak, as they did, hypothetically) to the Britiſh Parliament. This, it is thought, may change the caſt and quality of this Houſe as a public aſſembly, and render it too popular and tumultuous.

Sir, I will not deny that I have felt ſome difficulty on this part of the ſubject. Indeed I ſhould be aſhamed to diſſemble any objection which may have weighed with me, in a caſe where I look upon it as a duty,—it is ſo, undoubtedly, in all deliberations here,—but in a peculiar degree as a duty, to examine the queſtion, not as an advocate, and for defence, but, as far as I am capable, as a judge who is, in his ſhare and proportion, to decide upon it.

But, Sir, I have conſidered, on the other hand, that this, at moſt, is but a conjectural diſadvantage, and of a very ſecondary ſort at all events, when balanced againſt the

[5] They now fall ſhort of it.

[6] I believe the commerce of Ireland has always been carried on in a very conſiderable proportion with England capital. Sir *William Petty*, in the laſt century, ſaid, 'The ſtock which drives the 'foreign trade of Ireland doth near half of it belong to thoſe who 'live out of Ireland.' Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 90.

the calamity of ſeparation, which I think I ſee is already put into the oppoſite ſcale.

I have alſo recollected, that by the original principle of our conſtitution, the Crown, and of courſe the Engliſh Parliament, could increaſe, without any fixed limitation, the number of repreſentative members; that in the reigns of Henry the Eighth and his deſcendants, this prerogative was exerciſed to a great extent and without inconvenience—I may ſay to the improvement of this branch of the Legiſlature; that the ſame power continued to exiſt till the Union with Scotland, in which country it alſo obtained, and had been exerciſed from time to time;[7] that in like manner the incorporation on that occaſion of forty-five new members with the former number in England has produced no ſuch inconvenience as is ſuggeſted; and laſtly, that I have not obſerved or heard that the great and frequent fluctuation in the attendance here from under a hundred to perhaps five hundred and upwards, has been the cauſe of any eſſential diſtinction in the nature of parliamentary meaſures, conſidered in a conſtitutional view; for I do not think we are to be guided, in this part of the argument, by any conſideration of the effects of ſuch fluctuations, as to party, to points of a momentary nature, or to what are ſometimes called trials of ſtrength between individuals, or this and that claſs of men, on matters not of important conſequence to the ſtate and the community.

3. The next apprehenſion I am not ſure whether I rightly underſtand; but I think it was ſtated as if it were conceived that the habits and turn of the Iriſh Gentleman who

[7] Supra, p. 117.

who may be elected to the common Parliament, were likely to be ſuch as to lower the ſtandard, as it were, of Britiſh repreſentation. I think it was ſaid, that they are not of a ſubſtance and materials which can ſafely coaleſce with this Parliament; that they would corrupt and contaminate the whole maſs. Sir, I believe nobody imagined that in ſo liberal and reſpectable a quarter as that from whence this obſervation came, it was meant to expreſs any ſentiment derogatory to the general and natural diſpoſition of the Iriſh nation. I preſume the idea was, and ſuch indeed was, I think, the effect of the language in which it was conveyed, that, partly from the imputed corruption of Iriſh politics, partly from the ſavage ignorance, and barbarity of the lower orders of people there, partly from the inveteracy of religious animoſity, it was too probable, that the generality of the perſons returned for Ireland would bring with them modes of thinking and acting, leſs pure, leſs rational, leſs diſpaſſionate, than thoſe which this hypotheſis ſeems to aſſume as prevailing in this kingdom.

But, Sir, however much diſpoſed I feel myſelf to think with juſt reſpect of the virtue and underſtanding of Britiſh Legiſlators, I muſt beg leave to ſay, that if the Honourable Gentleman to whom I allude had been well acquainted, which he profeſſed not to be, with that claſs of men in Ireland, from among whom the repreſentatives would of courſe be for the moſt part ſelected, he could not have ſuffered ſo idle a ſuggeſtion to enter his mind. Vulgar prejudice and national complacency do, with the vulgar of all countries, eſtabliſh a ſort of general impreſſion of inferiority in the moral and intellectual qualities of neighbouring nations. I truſt the members of this Houſe

are

are far beyond the reach of ſuch impreſſions. For my part, I am well perſuaded Ireland is likely to furniſh at leaſt her fair proportion of genuine worth and genuine wiſdom to the common ſtock of the imperial Parliament; and that whatever defects may be ſuppoſed to belong to the modes and practice of legiſlation there, they ariſe from the nature of a local, as connected, in the manner I have endeavoured to explain, with an imperial Parliament, and are in no reſpect founded on any peculiar imperfection in the deſcription of the individuals who compoſe it. It has been well and juſtly obſerved in this Houſe, by one whoſe generous and elevated ſentiments on this queſtion ſtood in no need of the weight of his high character to impreſs them on our recollection, 'that the people of Ireland have not been leſs diſtinguiſhed than thoſe of Great Britain, in correſponding 'ſtations of life, for eloquence, for literary and ſcientific 'acquirements, and for thoſe talents and exertions 'which have eſtabliſhed the naval and military renown 'of the Britiſh empire.' They will not, on their more intimate connexion with the reſt of that empire, forfeit the pledge and earneſt they have thus given. Indeed, Sir, we have already had ſufficient examples in this very place to warrant that expectation; for can Great Britain herſelf boaſt of many of her ſons who have more illuſtrated this aſſembly than ſome of thoſe natives of that country, who in our own days have ſat in it, and who muſt already have occurred to the minds of all who hear me?

4. As to the objection that the Union, as propoſed, will be imperfect, and on that account not anſwer the ends intended, it was, I think, grounded chiefly on the diſtinction which will probably remain, and to which

ſome of the Reſolutions point, in the financial ſyſtems of the two countries. Sir, this very objection was made on the part of England, by ſome Noble Lords in the other Houſe, at the time of the Union with Scotland. When the Treaty came to be debated in the Houſe of Lords, Lord *Haverſham*, in the ſpeech I have already mentioned, ſaid; 'There is another reaſon why I am 'againſt this Union, becauſe I cannot think it an entire 'Union. The exempting articles, I mean the twen-'tieth, whereby heritable offices and ſuperiorities are 'reſerved; and alſo the one-and-twentieth, both which '*Oliver*, by an act of ſtate, was ſo wiſe as to aboliſh;[8] 'but eſpecially their act for ſecuring their preſbyterian 'church government and general aſſemblies, ſeem to 'me like thoſe little clouds in a warm calm ſummer's 'day, that are generally the ſeeds and attractives of 'approaching tempeſt and thunder.'[9] This was one of thoſe many prophecies which in the event have fortunately not been accompliſhed. Yet the differences which were allowed to continue and ſtill remain between the

[8] The wiſdom and policy of aboliſhing the heritable juriſdictions was in the contemplation of King James, even before his acceſſion to the Crown of England, as appears by the following remarkable paſſage in the book called Baſilicon Doron, addreſſed by him to his ſon Prince Henry: 'But the greateſt hinderance to 'the execution of our laws in this country are the heritable ſherif-'doms and regalities, which, being in the hands of the great men, 'do rack the whole country. For which I know no preſent re-'medy, but by taking the ſharper account of them in their offices; 'uſing all puniſhment againſt the ſlothful that the law will per-'mit; and ever, as they become vacant for any offences commit-'ted, to diſpoſe them never heritably again; preſſing with time 'to draw it to the laudable cuſtom of England, which ye may 'the eaſilier do, being King of both, as I hope in God ye ſhall.' P. 48.

[9] Continuation of Rapin, vol. xvi. p. 35.

the local arrangements and inſtitutions in Scotland and England (ſeveral of them too, financial) were of much greater magnitude than any that are either propoſed to be maintained, or indeed, conſidering the much greater ſimilarity which already obtains, can exiſt after the Union with Ireland, between thoſe of this part of Great Britain and of that country.

I believe a perfect uniformity in all the branches and minute parts of the frame of Government, never did take place as to all the different diſtricts and diviſions of the ſame country and nation, unleſs perhaps in ſome of thoſe diminutive ſovereignties which bear a nearer reſemblance to corporations and municipalities, than to ſuch ſtates as England and Ireland.

In France, under the monarchy, though the general outline and diſtinguiſhing features were in a great degree uniform throughout; yet there prevailed in the different provinces, *ſenechauſſées*, *balliages*, &c. of which that kingdom was compoſed, a remarkable diverſity in regard to many important particulars, ſuch as the rights of property real and moveable; the adminiſtration of juſtice; the impoſition and amount of taxes, and ſo forth; as to which, the different provinces with their ſubdiviſions, after their ſucceſſive incorporations with the kingdom at large, retained their ancient laws, uſages, and cuſtoms. The ſame obſervation is true of the other great ſtates of modern Europe, and will be found equally ſo in the inſtances of ſimilar incorporations, as far as they are known to have taken place in ancient Greece and Italy.

In England itſelf, the unity of the government has never been thought imperfect, becauſe of the different rules

rules of property, the different forms and courts of judicature, the different local cuſtoms and uſages, which obtain in the principality of Wales, in the duchy of Lancaſter, and in the various diſtricts, cities, boroughs, liberties, honours, and manors, throughout the kingdom.

On the acceſſion of James the VIth of Scotland to the throne of England, the Judges [1] gave it as their opinion that there could be no incorporating Union of the two kingdoms without an entire conformity of laws in both. Sir *Francis Bacon* was of a different ſentiment. He ſeems to have been ſtrongly convinced of the great inconvenience of the attempt to eſtabliſh ſo ſtrict a uniformity, and that it was by no means neceſſary. 'It is,' ſays he in his "Brief Diſcourſe, dedicated in private to his Majeſty," 'a matter of curioſity and inconveniency to ſeek either 'to extirpate all particular cuſtoms, or to draw all ſubjects to one reſort of judicature and ſeſſion; it ſufficeth 'there be uniformity in the principal and fundamental 'laws both eccleſiaſtical and civil.' [2] Even with regard to manners he obſerves, 'that a conſent in them is to be 'ſought indeed induſtriouſly, but not forced; for that 'nothing among people breeds ſo much pertinacity in 'holding their cuſtoms as ſudden and violent offers to 'remove them.' [3] And in another tract, ſtated 'to 'have been diſperſed for his Majeſty's ſervice,' after ſome argument to ſhew the difficulty of compoſing a general and uniform code for the two kingdoms, he concludes, 'that ſuch a general code would be too great a work to 'embrace.' [4]

According

[1] Co. 4 Inſt. c. 75. p. 347.
[2] *Bacon*'s Works, vol. ii. p. 157.
[3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. p. 167.

According to the judicious reflection of a modern author, 'Experience has now happily confirmed the juſt-'neſs of that great man's ſentiments, and both nations 'have reaſon to rejoice that the ſubtle reaſoning of the 'Judges met not with the ſame regard as on that occa-'ſion, in the reign of the great-grand-daughter of 'James.'

At that time, when the long-projected incorporation came to be carried into effect, it ſoon appeared that an endeavour at any ſuch conformity of laws would be attended with inſurmountable difficulties. Their ancient juriſprudence and tribunals were therefore, in general, preſerved to each country, and even a fundamental difference ſanctioned between the eccleſiaſtical laws and eſtabliſhments of the one and the other, which Lord *Bacon* ſeemed to think ſcarcely practicable.

It remains for me now, before I conclude, to ſay a very ſhort word or two of the two counter-projects which have been recommended to the Houſe.

The one is, a repeal, without condition or diſtinction, of all laws in both countries affecting Roman Catholics, and a free communication and permanent ſecurity of every branch of trade to the ſiſter kingdom. By theſe means, it is ſaid, you will produce the only deſirable Union between Great Britain and Ireland, the Union of hearts and affections.

As to the firſt part of this ſcheme, though I have declared my intention on this occaſion to avoid entering into the general merits of the Catholic queſtion, as it would

would ſtand on the ſuppoſition of a Union, I have no ſcruple to ſtate my concurrence with thoſe who think that an attempt to grant what is called Catholic emancipation, while the local Parliament remains, would excite ſuch a ſtruggle between property and numbers as would greatly aggravate many of thoſe miſchiefs wich now exiſt in Ireland, tending to revolution and ſeparation, through the medium of a civil war of the moſt deſtructive and ferocious kind.

I have, in a former part of what I have ſaid, anticipated the anſwer to the commercial part of the propoſal, and ſhewn, that if we were inclined, or it were right to grant every thing that may ſtill be wanting to an entirely free trade, we could not give permanent ſecurity to the grant otherwiſe than by Union.

With regard to the union of hearts and affections, I will not recur again to any diſcuſſion of that ſentimental kind of connexion of late ſo much talked of by perſons not apt to be led aſtray by a glare of words, but which, unleſs ariſing from one of a coarſer but more intelligible ſort; that which a permanent and unchangeable identity of intereſts and an indiſſoluble *conſpiratio et conſenſus partium* in the political machine have a neceſſary tendency to produce and perpetuate; is, in my judgment, mere idle and unprofitable declamation.

The other project is the reverſe of this; if I have underſtood it, it might be thus expreſſed: 'Beware of the 'Catholics of Ireland; tread back the raſh and incon-'ſiderate ſteps you have taken in their favour; eraſe 'them again from the catalogue of electors, and re-enact 'againſt them that Popiſh code, the relaxations of

'which,

'which, at leaſt till the laſt in 1793, have been the univerſal boaſt and praiſe of his Majeſty's reign on both 'ſides of the channel: let there, however, be this modifi-'cation in your proceeding, that although all Romaniſts, 'as they were called, ſhall be *primâ facie* conſidered as 'having, by their *preſumed* ſhare in the late conſpiracy 'and rebellion, forfeited all the privileges their ſect had 'recovered within the laſt twenty or thirty years; 'yet each individual among them may take upon himſelf 'the burden of proving his innocence of that charge; 'and, having eſtabliſhed it (a jury being ſummoned I 'ſuppoſe to try each particular caſe), he ſhall not only 'be reſtored to thoſe privileges, but ſhall, on ſuch pur-'gation, be put individually into the poſſeſſion of every 'right belonging to Proteſtants.'

The hardſhip, cruelty, impolicy, and impracticability to any extent, of this ſcheme, I am ſatisfied did not, when it was thrown out, occur to the Hon. Propoſer in the forcible manner in which they muſt impreſs the minds of thoſe who have had occaſion to attend much to the late hiſtory and preſent condition of that kingdom. But the numberleſs difficulties which would belong to the execution of its detail, in eſtabliſhing again a religious and Proteſtant, not a geographical and Engliſh pale, and in ſeparating, man by man, as they ſhould preſent themſelves to the outlet of that ideal fold of penalties and diſabilities in which it is propoſed to encloſe and coop up the body of the Catholics; the innocent from the guilty, the ſheep from the goats, were pointed out in ſo clear a manner immediately after the plan was ſtated to the Houſe, that it would be in vain to attempt to add any thing to what was then ſaid.

Sir,

Sir, I am too ſenſible of the unuſual length of the intruſion I have been guilty of on the time and indulgence of the Houſe to continue it ſtill longer, by any other apology than this, that as it has certainly not been my habit often to trouble them, ſo it ſhall be my practice in future to avoid treſpaſſing on their patience, unleſs perhaps on ſome rare occaſions, like the preſent, where, being particularly led by a ſenſe of duty to the conſideration of any queſtion of importance, I may feel it to be an irreſiſtible part of that duty to ſubmit to them the grounds of my opinion, and the reaſons and motives for my vote.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

No. I. Page 1.

1. *The King's Meſſage, preſented by Mr. Secretary Dundas, 22d January* 1799.

HIS Majeſty is perſuaded that the unremitting induſtry, with which our enemies perſevere in their avowed deſign of effecting the ſeparation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of Parliament, and his Majeſty recommends it to this Houſe to conſider of the moſt effectual means of counteracting and finally defeating this deſign; and he truſts that a review of all the circumſtances which have recently occurred (joined to the ſentiment of mutual affection and common intereſt) will diſpoſe the Parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they ſhall judge moſt expedient, for ſettling ſuch a complete and final adjuſtment as may beſt tend to improve and perpetuate a connexion eſſential for their common ſecurity, and to augment and conſolidate the ſtrength, power, and reſources of the Britiſh empire.

2. *Addreſs thereupon preſented to his Majeſty, 24th January* 1799.

We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty the thanks of this Houſe for your Majeſty's moſt gracious meſſage; and to aſſure your Majeſty, that, impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of the magnitude of the objects to which your Majeſty is pleaſed to direct our attention, and anxious at all times, and particularly at the preſent criſis, to avail ourſelves of every opportunity to improve and perpetuate the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland (ſo eſſential to their common ſecurity,) and to promote the ſtrength and proſperity of every part of the Britiſh empire, we ſhall not fail to enter on this conſideration

with all due diſpatch, and with the diligence and attention which its tranſcendent importance demands.

3. *Reſolutions, as moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and voted in the Committee of the whole Houſe, 14th Feb. 1799.*

FIRST.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, in order to promote and ſecure the eſſential intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland, and to conſolidate the ſtrength, power, and reſources of the Britiſh empire, it will be adviſable to concur in ſuch meaſures as may beſt tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in ſuch manner, and on ſuch terms and conditions, as may be eſtabliſhed by Acts of the reſpective Parliaments of his Majeſty's ſaid kingdoms.

SECOND.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it would be fit to propoſe, as the firſt article, to ſerve as a baſis of the ſaid Union, that the ſaid kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland ſhall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of 'The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.'

THIRD.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, for the ſame purpoſe, it would be fit to propoſe, that the ſucceſſion to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the ſaid United Kingdom ſhall continue limited and ſettled in the ſame manner as the imperial crown of the ſaid kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now ſtands limited and ſettled, according to the exiſting laws, and to the terms of the Union between England and Scotland.

FOURTH.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, for the ſame purpoſe, it would be fit to propoſe, that the ſaid United Kingdom be repreſented in one and the ſame Parliament, to be ſtyled, 'The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;' and that ſuch a number of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and ſuch a number of Members in the Houſe of Commons, as ſhall be hereafter agreed upon by Acts of the reſpective Parliaments as aforeſaid, ſhall ſit and vote in the ſaid Parliament on the part of Ireland, and ſhall be ſummoned, choſen, and returned, in ſuch manner as ſhall be fixed by an Act of Parliament of Ireland, previous

previous to the ſaid Union; and that every Member, hereafter to ſit and vote in the ſaid Parliament of the United Kingdom, ſhall, until the ſaid Parliament ſhall otherwiſe provide, take and ſubſcribe the ſame oaths, and make the ſame declarations, as are by law required to be taken, ſubſcribed, and made, by the Members of the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

FIFTH.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, for the ſame purpoſe, it would be fit to propoſe, that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government thereof, ſhall be preſerved as now by law eſtabliſhed.

SIXTH.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, for the ſame purpoſe, it would be fit to propoſe, that his Majeſty's ſubjects in Ireland ſhall, at all times hereafter, be entitled to the ſame privileges, and be on the ſame footing, in reſpect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all caſes with reſpect to which treaties ſhall be made by his Majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, with any foreign power, as his Majeſty's ſubjects in Great Britain :—That no duty ſhall be impoſed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland of any articles now duty-free; and that on other articles there ſhall be eſtabliſhed, for a time to be limited, ſuch a moderate rate of equal duties as ſhall, previous to the Union, be agreed upon and approved by the reſpective Parliaments; ſubject, after the expiration of ſuch limited time, to be diminiſhed equally with reſpect to both kingdoms, but in no caſe to be increaſed :—That all articles, which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, ſhall be importable through either kingdom into the other, ſubject to the like duties and regulations as if the ſame were imported directly from foreign parts :—That where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are ſubject to any internal duty in one kingdom, ſuch countervailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforeſaid) ſhall be impoſed as ſhall be neceſſary to prevent any inequality in that reſpect :—And that all other matters of trade and commerce, other than the foregoing, and than ſuch others as may, before the Union, be ſpecially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the reſpective kingdoms, ſhall remain to be regulated from time to time by the United Parliament.

SEVENTH.

SEVENTH.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, for the ſame purpoſe, it would be fit to propoſe, that the charge ariſing from the payment of the intereſt, or ſinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, ſhall continue to be ſeparately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively:—That, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenſes of the United Kingdom, in peace or war, ſhall be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to ſuch proportions as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by the reſpective Parliaments previous to the Union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be ſo limited, the proportion ſhall not be liable to be varied, except according to ſuch rules and principles as ſhall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the Union.

EIGHTH.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, for the ſame purpoſe, it would be fit to propoſe, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil or eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, within the reſpective kingdoms, ſhall remain, as now by law eſtabliſhed, within the ſame, ſubject only to ſuch alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumſtances may appear, to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, to require.

[*Note.* The firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, ſixth, and eighth, were agreed to by the Houſe without amendment.]

4. *The Fifth and Seventh Reſolutions, as amended in the Houſe.*

FIFTH.

That for the ſame purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe, that the churches of that part of Great Britain called England, and of that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and of Ireland, and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government thereof, ſhall be preſerved as now by law eſtabliſhed.

SEVENTH.

That for the ſame purpoſe it would be fit to propoſe, that the charge ariſing from the payment of the intereſt, or ſinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, ſhall continue to be ſeparately paid by Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively:—That for a number of years to be limited, the future expenſes of the United Kingdom, in peace or war, ſhall be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to ſuch proportions as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by the

the reſpective Parliaments previous to the Union; and that after the expiration of the time to be ſo limited, the mode of jointly defraying ſuch expenſes ſhall be regulated according to ſuch rules and principles as ſhall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the Union, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing gradually an uniform ſyſtem of taxation through every part of the United Kingdom.

5. *Addreſs, voted by the Houſe of Lords, and agreed to by the Commons, 22d April 1799.*

We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, humbly beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that we have proceeded with the utmoſt attention to the conſideration of the important objects recommended to us in your Majeſty's Meſſage reſpecting the connexion between this country and Ireland.

We entertain a firm perſuaſion that a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the ſimilarity of laws, conſtitution, and government, and on a ſenſe of mutual intereſts and affections, by promoting the ſecurity, wealth and commerce of the reſpective kingdoms, and by allaying the diſtractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, muſt afford freſh means of oppoſing at all times an effectual reſiſtance to the deſtructive projects of our foreign and domeſtic enemies, and muſt tend to confirm and augment the ſtability, power, and reſources of the empire.

Impreſſed with theſe conſiderations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before your Majeſty ſuch propoſitions as appear to us beſt calculated to form the baſis of ſuch a ſettlement, leaving it to your Majeſty's wiſdom, at ſuch time and in ſuch manner as your Majeſty, in your parental ſolicitude for the happineſs of your people, ſhall judge fit, to communicate theſe propoſitions to your Parliament of Ireland, with whom we ſhall be at all times ready to concur in all ſuch meaſures as may be found moſt conducive to the accompliſhment of this great and ſalutary work. And we truſt that, after full and mature conſideration, ſuch a ſettlement may be framed and eſtabliſhed by the deliberative conſent of the Parliaments of both kingdoms, as may be conformable to the ſentiments, wiſhes, and real intereſts of your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inſeparably in the full enjoyment of the bleſſings of our free and invaluable conſtitution, in the ſupport of the honour and dignity of your Majeſty's Crown, and in the preſervation and advancement of the welfare and proſperity of the whole Britiſh empire.

6. *Extract*

6. *Extract from his Majeſty's Speech, on the Prorogation of the Parliament, 12th July 1799.*

I have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing that internal tranquillity is in ſome degree reſtored in my kingdom of Ireland.

The removal of the only remaining naval force of the enemy to a diſtant quarter muſt nearly extinguiſh even the precarious hope which the traitorous and diſaffected have entertained of foreign aſſiſtance.

But our great reliance for the immediate ſafety of that country muſt ſtill reſt on the experienced zeal and bravery of my troops of all deſcriptions, and on the unſhaken loyalty and voluntary exertions of my faithful ſubjects in both kingdoms.

Its ultimate ſecurity can alone be enſured by its intimate and entire Union with Great Britain; and I am happy to obſerve, that the ſentiments manifeſted by numerous and reſpectable deſcriptions of my Iriſh ſubjects juſtify the hope, that the accompliſhment of this great and ſalutary work will be proved to be as much the joint wiſh, as it unqueſtionably is the common intereſt, of both my kingdoms.

No. II. Page 1.

1. *Extract from the Speech of the Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the opening of the Seſſion of the Iriſh Parliament, 22d January 1799.*

THE zeal of his Majeſty's regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeomanry, the honourable co-operation of the Britiſh fencibles and militia, and the activity, ſkill, and valour of his Majeſty's fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy; but the more I have reflected on the ſituation and circumſtances of this kingdom, conſidering on the one hand the ſtrength and ſtability of Great Britain, and on the other thoſe diviſions which have ſhaken Ireland to its foundations, the more anxious I am for ſome permanent adjuſtment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our ſiſter kingdom to every part of this iſland.

The unremitting induſtry with which our enemies perſevere in their avowed deſign of endeavouring to effect a ſeparation of this kingdom from Great Britain muſt have engaged your particular attention, and his Majeſty commands me to expreſs his anxious hope,

hope, that this conſideration, joined to the ſentiment of mutual affection and common intereſt, may diſpoſe the Parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the moſt effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion eſſential to their common ſecurity, and of conſolidating, as far as poſſible, into one firm and laſting fabric, the ſtrength, the power, and the reſources of the Britiſh empire.

2. *Paragraph in a Motion made the ſame Day, in the Houſe of Commons, for an Addreſs to the Crown.*

The unremitting activity with which our enemies perſevere in their avowed deſign of endeavouring to effect a ſeparation of this kingdom from Great Britain, muſt conſtantly engage our moſt earneſt attention; and as your Majeſty has condeſcended to expreſs an anxious hope that this circumſtance, joined to the ſentiment of mutual affection and common intereſt, may diſpoſe the Parliament in both kingdoms to provide the moſt effectual means of maintaniing and improving a connexion eſſential to their common ſecurity, and of conſolidating, as far as poſſible, into one firm and laſting fabric, the ſtrength, the power, and the reſources of the Britiſh empire, we ſhall not fail to give the fulleſt conſideration to a communication of ſuch momentous importance.

3. *Amendment thereto, propoſed by Mr. Ponſonby, but rejected.*

A motion was made, and the queſtion being put, that an amendment be made in the foregoing motion by inſerting after the word *importance*, the following words, viz. 'but maintaining the undoubted birth-right of the people of Ireland to have a free and independent Legiſlature, reſident within this kingdom, as it was aſſerted by the Parliament of this kingdom in 1782, and acknowledged and ratified by his Majeſty and the Parliament of Great Britain upon the final adjuſtment of the diſcontents and jealouſies then prevailing among his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects of this country:'

It paſſed in the negative. Ayes 105.—Noes 106.

And then the queſtion being put on the original motion,

It was carried in the affirmative.

4. *Amendment thereto, adopted, 24th January 1799.*

The Addreſs having been prepared, and reported 24th January 1799, the above (2) forming the tenth paragraph,

The queſtion being put, that the ſaid paragraph ſtand part of the ſaid Addreſs,

It paſſed in the negative. Noes 109.—Ayes 104.

5. *Extract*

5. Extract from the Lord Lieutenant's Speech, on the Prorogation of the Parliament, 1ſt June 1799.

I have his Majeſty's particular commands to acquaint you that a joint Addreſs of the two Houſes of Parliament of Great Britain has been laid before his Majeſty, accompanied by Reſolutions propoſing and recommending a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be eſtabliſhed by the mutual conſent of both Parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the ſimilarity of laws, conſtitution, and government, and on a ſenſe of mutual intereſts and affections. His Majeſty will receive the greateſt ſatisfaction in witneſſing the accompliſhment of a ſyſtem, which, by allaying the unhappy diſtractions too long prevalent in Ireland, and by promoting the ſecurity, wealth, and commerce of his reſpective kingdoms, muſt afford them at all times, and eſpecially in the preſent moment, the beſt means of jointly oppoſing an effectual reſiſtance to the deſtructive projects of foreign and domeſtic enemies; and his Majeſty, as the common father of his people, muſt look forward with earneſt anxiety to the moment when, in conformity to the ſentiments, wiſhes, and real intereſts of his ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, they may all be inſeparably united in the full enjoyment of the bleſſings of a free conſtitution, in the ſupport of the honour and dignity of his Majeſty's Crown, and in the preſervation and advancement of the welfare and proſperity of the whole Britiſh empire.

I feel moſt ſenſibly the arduous ſituation in which I am placed, and the weight of the truſt which his Majeſty has impoſed upon me at this moſt important criſis; but if I ſhould be ſo fortunate as to contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to the ſucceſs of this great meaſure, I ſhall think the labours and anxiety of a life devoted to the ſervice of my country amply repaid, and ſhall retire with the conſcious ſatisfaction that I have had ſome ſhare in averting from his Majeſty's dominions thoſe dangers and calamities which have overſpread ſo large a portion of Europe.

No. III. Page 20.

1. *Extract from the Records of the Privy Council of Scotland.*

At Edinb. the eighth day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and two years.

Sederunt.

Lo. Chancellor,	E. Buchan,	Lo. Polwarth,
M. Lothian,	Vif. Tarbat,	Lo. Advocat.
E. Crafurd,	Vif. Roſbery,	Lo. Proveſt of Edin.
E. Marr,		

LETTER from the Queen to the Councill for calling and indicting a new Parliament read and order'd to be recorded, whereof the tenor followes.

Sic ſupra ſcribitur, Anne R.

'Right truſtie, &c. Wee greet yow well; Haveing upon 'weighty conſiderationes thought fitt to call a Parliament of that 'our ancient kingdome to meet at Edinburgh the twelth day of 'November nixt enſueing the date hereof; Wee have now ſent 'yow here incloſed a Proclamation to be iſſhued for that pur'poſe; which yow are to take care to be timely publiſhed with 'all the ſolemnities uſuall upon the like occaſiones, for doeing 'whereof this ſhall be your warrant; and ſo Wee bid yow hear'tily farewell. Given at our Court at Windſour Caſtle, the '25th day of Auguſt 1702, and of our rigne the firſt year. By 'her Majeſtie's command, *ſic ſubſcribitur*

'QUEENSBERRY.'

Proclamation under her Majeſtie's royall hand calling & indicting the ſaid new Parliament to meet at Edinburgh the twelth November nixt; and the ſamen being read in their preſence, the Councill ordained the ſaid Proclamation to be recorded, printed, and publiſhed, at the marcat croſs of Edinburgh, and at the marcat croſſes of the remanent head burghs of the ſeverall ſhyres & ſtewartries of this kingdome. And appoints her Majeſtie's Solicitors to tranſmit copies therof to the reſpective Shirriffs and Stewarts of this kingdome, to the effect they may conveen the free holders within ther reſpective bounds, and the magiſtrats of their reſpective burghs their toune councills, furth with to elect their reſpective Commiſſioners to the enſueing Parliament. Off the which Proclamation the tenor folloes.

'Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Brittaine, 'France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all and 'ſundrie our good ſubjects whom theſe preſents doe or may

' concerne, greeting; Whereas the late Parliament of that our ' ancient kingdome is by our authority diſſolved; and conſider- ' ing that Wee are ingadged at preſent in a moſt juſt and neceſ- ' ſary warr; and that by acts paſt in the Parliament both of ' Scotland and England Wee are impowered, & have accord- ' ingly nominat Commiſſioners to treat of an Union betwixt ' theſe our kingdomes, & of other things, matters, & cauſes; ' relateing therto; conforme to the tenors of the ſaids acts, the ' concluſion of which Union to be eſtabliſhed and ratified in ' both Parliaments, will undoubtedly conduce to the laſting ' peace & wellfare of both kingdoms; for which cauſſes, and ' that Wee judge it neceſſary ther ſhould be a Parliament in being ' to meett on ſuch occaſiones as may requyre it, Wee have ther- ' fore thought fitt to call a Parliament of that our kingdome to ' meet at our city of Edinburgh upon the twelth day of Novem- ' ber nixt enſueing the date of theſe preſents: Wee doe ther- ' fore requyre & command all Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, ' Viſcounts, Lords, and Officers of State of our ſaid kingdome, ' to be preſent & attend at that dyet; and Wee doe alſo re- ' quyre & command all our Shirriffs in the ſeverall ſhyres & ' their deputes furth with to call & conveen all the freeholders ' in the reſpective ſhyres, to the end that according to the lawes ' & acts of Parliament, elections may be made of fitt perſones ' to be Commiſſioners for this Parliament. And Wee doe lyk- ' ways requyre & command our royal burrowes to make choiſe ' of Commiſſioners accordingly; & them & all perſones haveing ' intreſt to attend this our Parliament under the paines contained ' in our lawes made theranent; and to the effect all our good ' ſubjects may have nottice of this our royal will & pleaſure, ' Wee doe hereby command our Lyon King of Armes, & his ' bretheren Heraulds, Macers, Purſevants and Meſſengers at ' Armes, to make timeous proclamatione of theſe preſents at the ' marcat croſs of Edinburgh, & at the marcat croſſes of the ' head burghes of the ſeverall ſhyres of that our ancient king- ' dome. Given at our Court at Windſour Caſtle, the 25th Au- ' guſt 1702, & of our reigne the firſt year. By her Majeſtie, *ſic* ' *ſubſcribitur*

' QUEENSBERRY.'

2. Commiſſion by the Freeholders of Edinburghſhire.

' Be it knowen to all men by thir preſent letters, Wee the ' barrons & freeholders of the ſhereffdome of Edinburgh ' principall, being mett & conveened within the Parliament ' Howſe thereof, to the effect underwritten, be vertue of inti- ' matione and advertiſement from the ſhireff principall and his ' deputy; and wee takeing to our conſideratioune that the laſt ' Parliament is diſſolved, and that ther is ane new Parliament in- ' dicted

'dicted by her Majesty Queen Ann, to meet att Edinburgh on 'the twelth day of November nixt to come; and that it is 'necessar wee have four commissioners elected to represent this 'shyre in the said Parliament, and severall meetings and ses- 'siones therof; and wee being first qualified by swearing the 'oath of aledganes to her Majesty Queen Ann, and subscryve- 'ing the same with the assurance; and haveing knawledge of 'the fidelitie, fittness, and abilitie of the persones underwritten, 'to the effect aftermentionat: Wee have therfore nominated, 'elected, and chosen, and heirby nominats, electis, & choises, 'Sir Robert Dundass of Arneston, ane of the Senators of the 'Colledge of Justice; Sir James Primrose of Caringtoun, Sir 'Robert Dicksone of Invereik, and George Lockhart of Carn- 'wath, to be our four Commissioners to represent the said shyre 'in the next ensewing Parliament and severall meetings and ses- 'siones therof, to whom wee heirby give full power, warrand, 'and commissione, to compear for the said shyre in the said nixt 'Parliament and severall meetings and sessiones therof; and ther 'to meet, consult, and assemble with the noblemen and others 'Commissioners for the shyres and royall burghes of this king- 'dome, and to sitt in the saids meetings and sessiones of Parlia- 'ment; and conferr, treate, vott, consult, and determine in all 'poynts, acts, and effaires, that shall happen to be debated, 'proponed, and concluded in the saids meetings and sessiones of 'Parliament; and all and everie thing to doe therin, ficklyk 'and as freelie in all respects, and to all intentis and purposes, 'as any other Commissioner for this shyre, or any other Com- 'missioner within this kingdome hes done or may doe in the lyke 'caices. And for the mair securitie, we consent thir presents be 'insert & registrat in the bookes of Parliament, &c.' Dated '30th September 1702.

3. *Commission by the Burgh of Edinburgh.*

'Be it knowen to all men be thir presents, Us the Lord Pro- 'vost, Baillies, Council and Deacons of crafts ordinar and extra- 'ordinar of the burgh of Edinburgh; forasmuchas it having 'pleased the Queen's Majesty to call a Parliament of this king- 'dom to meet at Edinburgh upon the twelth day of November 'nixt ensueing the dait of thir presents; therefor wit ye us to 'have, nominate, constitut, and ordained, likeas we be thir pre- 'sents nominate, constitut, and ordaine Sir Patrick Johnston 'present Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and Robert Inglis, gold- 'smith, and present Deacon Conveener of the incorporations 'thereof, to represent us as our Commissioners in the said Par- 'liament, giving, granting, and committing to them our very 'full, free, plain power, expres bidding, mandament and charge, 'for us in our names and upon our behalf, to meet and con- 'veen with the remanent Commissioners of the free royall bur-

'rows

'rows of this Kingdom in the ſaid enſueing Parliament, to be 'holden at Edinburgh the ſaid twelth day of November nixt, 'with continuation of dayes, and there in our names and upon 'our behalf to fitt, treat, reaſon, vote, and conclude upon all 'and whatſomever maitters that ſhall happen to be proponed and 'treated upon in the ſaid Parliament; firm and ſtable holding, 'and for to hold all & whatſomever our ſaids Commiſſioners 'does in the premiſes, in ſo far as may concerne the glory of 'God, the Queen's honour, the wellfare of the kingdom, this 'church, and eſtate of burrowes. Attour we teſtifye our ſaid 'Commiſſioners to be men fearing God, of the true Proteſtant 'religion preſently profeſſed and authorized be the laws of this 'kingdom without ſuſpicion in the contrare; the one a merchant, 'the other a tradſman, inhabitants within this burgh, bearing all 'portable charges with their neighbours, and are ſuch as may 'tyne and win in all our affaires. In witneſs wherof, &c. &c.' Dated 11th September 1702.

No. IV. Pages 24, 57.

1. *Reſolutions of a Meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Louth.*

AT a numerous and reſpectable meeting of the Freeholders of the county of Louth, held at Dundalk, Monday, January 14, 1799, the following Reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to:—

John M'Clintock, jun. Eſq. High Sheriff, in the chair:

Reſolved, That it is the duty, as well as the right of the freeholders and burgeſſes of Ireland, to expreſs their ſentiments on the ſubject of a Union.

That our Repreſentatives were not empowered at their election to ſurrender the conſtitutional privileges of their conſtituents.

That the rapid improvement of this kingdom ſince the date of her legiſlative independence clearly evinces, that an independent Iriſh Legiſlature is as neceſſary as Britiſh connexion to the proſperity of Ireland.

That a Union would not only deprive us of many of our deareſt rights, but render the enjoyment of the remainder precarious and uncertain, and would for ever deſtroy the ſecurity that Ireland now poſſeſſes for their continuance.

That it is impolitic and unwiſe to agitate at this time a queſtion that may lead to a recurrence to firſt principles.

That,

That, firmly attached as we are to Britiſh connexion, we do totally diſapprove of the plan of a Legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

That theſe our ſentiments be communicated to our Repreſentatives, in whoſe attachment to the conſtitution and true intereſts of Ireland we have the moſt firm reliance.

4. *Anſwer of the Right Hon. John Foſter, Speaker of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, on receiving the Communication of the foregoing Reſolutions.*

Gentlemen, I thank you for your ſentiments, and it is a great ſatisfaction to me to find my opinions ſtrengthened by your explicit declaration, that an Iriſh independent Legiſlature is as neceſſary as Britiſh connexion to the proſperity of Ireland. The Houſe of Commons have ſaid ſo in ſtrong language, when they ſtated to his Majeſty in 1782, that the very eſſence of our liberties exiſts in the right of a *ſole* Legiſlature—the Parliament of Ireland—a right which they then claimed on the part of all the people as their birthright, and which they declared to his Majeſty they could not yield but with their lives. I joined in that ſtatement—and we were afterwards told from the Throne that both countries had pledged their good faith to each other, that their beſt ſecurity would be an inviolable adherence to that compact; and we were deſired to convince the people that the two kingdoms were then one, indiſſolubly connected in unity of conſtitution and unity of intereſt. Nothing then remains to ſtrengthen our Union—we have adhered to that compact, ſo has Great Britain, and we have riſen to proſperity with a rapidneſs beyond example ſince it was made. I ſee no circumſtance either of imperial concern or local neceſſity, which can juſtify our attempting a change, much leſs ſuch a change as would annihilate that birthright, by the confirmation of which our trade and manufactures felt a ſecurity that immediately rouſed a happy ſpirit of exertion, the ſurrender of which would not only make the employment of thoſe exertions precarious, but would equally take away all ſecurity of permanence from every advantage which any perſons might be ignorantly deluded into a hope of from the projected meaſure of a Legiſlative Union. In truth, I ſee much danger and a probable decreaſe to our trade and manufactures, from the meaſure; and I cannot conceive any one advantage to them from it. If the linen manufacture reſts at all on any compact, that compact was made with the Iriſh Parliament, the extinction of which takes away a ſecurity we have found adequate, and leaves it without the protection of its natural guardians, who by their vigilance, their regulations, and their bounties, have more than doubled its exports within a few years paſt. As an Iriſhman, then, I ſhould oppoſe the meaſure, and

and as a member of the empire I ſhould not be leſs averſe to it; for the innovation which it would make in the conſtitution of Great Britain, with whom we muſt ſtand or fall, may ſo endanger that conſtitution, as in the end to overturn it, and with it the whole of the empire. Nor can I look on the circumſtances of the times, without deprecating its being propoſed, when the French proceedings teach us the danger of innovating on eſtabliſhed conſtitutions, and when it muſt be peculiarly alarming to Ireland, ſcarcely reſted from a cruel and unprovoked rebellion, to have the public mind again agitated by an unneceſſary, unprovoked, and unſolicited project. Theſe are my ſentiments. The entire confidence you repoſe in my attachment to the conſtitution and the true intereſt of Ireland, call upon me to ſtate them fully to you—you ſhall not find that confidence miſplaced. I ſhall oppoſe the meaſure; and I remain, with the moſt perfect eſteem and affection,

Your very obliged and faithful humble ſervant,

Jan. 15. JOHN FOSTER.

No. V. Page 74.

An Account of the Regiſter Tonnage, belonging to the ſeveral Ports of Great Britain and Ireland, in the following Years, diſtinguiſhing ſome of the principal Ports of Great Britain.

	1793.	1795.	1797.
Liverpool —	96,694	83,175	87,093
Briſtol —	40,289	29,556	23,611
Hull —	57,891	61,494	64,477
Whitehaven —	56,415	57,187	54,925
Newcaſtle —	123,821	126,962	128,294
Sunderland —	63,015	69,997	73,505
All the other Ports of England —	756,625	779,528	820,640
Total of England	1,204,750	1,207,899	1,252,545
Glaſgow —	42,850	37,234	32,110
All the other Ports of Scotland —	116,325	108,157	104,422
Total of Scotland	159,175	145,391	136,532
Ireland —	67,790	58,765	53,181

No.

No. VI. Page 90.

1. *Extract from the Evidence of Mr.* JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, *before the Committee of the whole House, in the House of Commons, 2d May* 1785.

THE principal raw materials of which our preſent earthen wares are made are clay and flint ſtones. The former, Ireland has of her own, and, as I am told, of the beſt quality; but if this ſhould not be ſo, ſhe has been, and therefore no doubt ſhe can be again ſupplied with it from the ſame places that we ourſelves are; and this at little more than half the expenſe which it coſts us when delivered in Staffordſhire. The latter (flint ſtones) ſhe has much cheaper ſtill; as we now fetch them for the potteries in Staffordſhire from the ſhores which ſurround Ireland.—My authorities for the exiſtence, abundance, and cheapneſs of the raw materials neceſſary for carrying on an earthen-ware manufactory in Ireland are perſons who have had ſpecimens of the clay ſent to them here for trial, and the evidence of Mr. *Evans*, engineer of the Grand Canal making acroſs Ireland, which was laid before the Iriſh Houſe of Commons in 1783.—He ſtates, that on the banks of the Grand Canal leſs than 30 miles from Dublin, 'there is flint for making flint ware, clays for potteries, and 'pipe-clay for making Staffordſhire ware.'—We muſt likewiſe take into the account the carriage, freight, loſs by breaking, and the duties on our ware on its importation from Staffordſhire into Ireland, amounting all together to 40 per cent.—P. 177, 178.

2. *Extract from the ſame Gentleman's Evidence before the Committee of the whole Houſe, in the Houſe of Lords.*

When potteries are eſtabliſhed in Ireland, and the natives are taught that buſineſs, I apprehend that a manufacture of a ſimilar kind with what is now made in Staffordſhire may be purchaſed at 40*l.* or 50*l.* per cent. cheaper, on a moſt moderate calculation, than we can afford to ſell it in Staffordſhire.—Some of the raw materials for the finer ſpecies of earthen-ware we have ourſelves from Ireland, viz. the flint-ſtone; and I am told they have the clay likewiſe of a very good quality. There are ſome tons of it now in a pottery, ſent to be tried by a perſon who lives in Ireland a great part of his time; he has a warehouſe there, and a pottery in Staffordſhire. He has ſome tons of this Iriſh pipe-clay to make a trial of. He told me before I came to London that he had tried it, and that it was very good. Theſe are the principal articles of raw material of our manufacture.—Is the flint of Ireland equal

to

to ours?—If you take it all together, it is not equal to ours; but it is brought to Liverpool by way of ballaſt, and there we employ agents to pick out ſuch as are good from the ballaſt when thrown out.—Is that which is ſo picked out as good as that of the eaſtern coaſt *?—I do not think it is, becauſe they bring it from the coaſt; and flint expoſed to the air for any time acquires a metallic quality. It comes from many parts of Ireland. There is a trace of it near Dublin, which they uſed when they ſet up a manufacture of queen's ware there.—Is there any great expenſe in ſeparating the good from the bad?—No. Any man accuſtomed to the grinding it knows directly which is good and which is bad. When their natives have learned the buſineſs in as good perfection as ours have here, I apprehend that leſs than 40*l.* or 50*l.* per cent. would ſcarcely be a protecting duty. When I ſaid the flint was not ſo good, I had reference to that which is picked up promiſcuouſly. That picked up from the Iriſh ſhore and taken to any places convenient for a pottery work, muſt be in the vicinity of water carriage. Therefore the carriage, which makes a very great proportion of the value of our raw material, at leaſt five ſixths or ſix ſevenths of the whole value, will be ſo much expenſe ſaved by taking the flint from the Iriſh ſhore and carrying it in lighters to the manufactories there; ſo that they will have the flint I might have ſaid one third, but I am ſure they might have it at one half of what it coſts us, and they may have the coal from our pits at little more than half the price, owing to our very inland ſituation.—I have made calculations upon it. The day, when delivered on board a ſhip, uſed to be about 6*s.* or 7*s.* per ton. When it arrives in Staffordſhire, it is from 36*s.* or 38*s.* to two guineas per ton; ſo that the difference between 6*s.* per ton and the expenſe of the carriage is near two guineas †; and on that account, there being no inland carriage to Dublin, they can have it from our clay-pits at little more than half the price that we have it.—There is ſagger clay in ſeveral parts of Ireland. In almoſt every place where coal and iron ſtone are found, that ſpecies of clay accompanies it. It is along the banks of the New Canal that runs acroſs the kingdom. Mr. *Evans*, Surveyor of the Grand Canal, gave in a report to the Iriſh Parliament laſt year, in which he ſays there are coals of equal quality with the Whitehaven coals, ſufficient for the ſupply of the whole kingdom; and there is clay for potters. By which I ſuppoſe he means the coarſe kind of pipe-clay for Staffordſhire ware. And there is a canal not a great many miles from Dublin; ſo that there ſeems, in that happy ſpot, the fineſt ſituation for a potter, becauſe he has all the materials under his own hand.

P. 145. 152. 157. 160, 161.

* Query? † Query?

No.

No. VII. Page 111.

IRISH REVENUE, 1797.

	Groſs. £.	s.	d.	*Nets.* £.	s.	d.
Conſolidated fund	964,524	7	3⅝			
Inland exciſe, excluſive of appropriated duties, &c.	428,064	9	0			
Licences — —	75,560	11	5			
Appropriated duties —	319,689	9	1			
	1,787,838	16	9⅝			
Deduct management, bounties, and other articles charged on incidents — —	456,035	11	5⅞			
				1,331,803	5	3⅝
Stamps — —	109,035	4	3			
Deduct charges — —	20,924	11	1¾			
				88,110	13	1¼
Poſt-office — —	68,256	6	11½			
Deduct charges — —	50,653	18	9			
				17,602	8	2½
Total net revenue				1,437,516	6	7½

Groſs ſums.			
1,787,838	16	9⅝	
109,035	4	3	
68,256	6	11½	
1,965,130	8	0⅛	Total groſs revenue.

No. VIII. Page 111.

SCOTCH REVENUE, 1797.

Branches.	*Groſs Produce.* £.	s.	d.	*Net Produce.* £.	s.	d.
Cuſtoms — —	403,536	15	11	324,644	19	2¾
Exciſe — —	958,173	19	0½	827,237	17	1¼
Stamps — —	123,978	5	3	112,380	0	0
Land and aſſeſſed taxes	104,061	15	9	98,768	6	11
Salt — — —	27,314	5	3¼	21,816	10	8¾
Poſt-office — —	109,793	6	4	94,810	1	10½
1*s.* on penſions, &c. —	4,136	4	9¼	3,985	15	8½
6*d.* on penſions, &c. —	3,477	9	1¼	3,392	13	7¼
Total	1,734,474	2	3¼	1,487,036	5	2½

No. IX.*

SCOTCH REVENUE, 1798.

Branches.	*Groſs Produce.* £.	s.	d.	*Net Produce.* £.	s.	d.
Cuſtoms — —	539,284	15	7	439,231	11	10
Exciſe — —	965,252	18	3¼	807,796	8	1¼
Stamps — —	140,609	15	3¼	126,727	6	6
Land and aſſeſſed taxes	209,209	17	4	205,108	13	8
Salt — —	59,523	9	3¾	51,782	13	6½
Poſt-office — —	110,701	14	3	95,639	4	9½
1*s.* on penſions, &c. —	39,937	11	0¼	39,684	5	3¼
6*d.* on penſions, &c. —	3,003	7	5¼	2,965	16	7¼
Total	2,067,523	8	5¾	1,768,936	0	4

* This is extracted from an account laid before the Houſe of Commons 13th June 1799.

No.

No. X. Page 110, Note.

RATES OF POSTAGE IN IRELAND, 1797.

	Postage of a single letter. s.	d.
From any poſt-office in Ireland to any place in the ſame kingdom, not exceeding 15 miles from ſuch office, and not paſſing through Dublin — — —	0	2
Above the diſtance of 15 miles and not exceeding 30 miles, and not paſſing through Dublin — —	0	3
Above the diſtance of 30 miles and not exceeding 50 miles, and not paſſing through Dublin — —	0	4
Above the diſtance of 50 miles and not exceeding 80 miles, and not paſſing through Dublin — —	0	5
And all beyond 80 miles, and not paſſing thro' Dublin	0	6
Between Dublin and London by way of Holyhead	0	8
Between Waterford and London by way of Haverford weſt — — — — —	0	8
Between Donaghadee and London by way of Portpatrick	1	3

No. XI. Page 110, Note.

RATES OF POSTAGE IN SCOTLAND, 1797.

	Poſtage of a ſingle letter.	
Between London and Edinburgh, Dumfries, or Cockburnſpeth — — — —	0	8
From any poſt-office in Scotland to any place not exceeding one ſtage from ſuch office — — —	0	3
From any poſt-office in Scotland to any place in the ſame kingdom, above one ſtage, and not exceeding 50 miles, and not paſſing through Edinburgh — —	0	4
From any poſt-office in Scotland to any place in the ſame kingdom above 50 and not exceeding 80 miles, and not paſſing through Edinburgh — — —	0	5
From any poſt-office in Scotland to any place in the ſame kingdom above 80 and not exceeding 150 miles, and not paſſing through Edinburgh — —	0	6
From any poſt-office in Scotland to any place above 150 miles, and not paſſing through Edinburgh —	0	7
Between Port-patrick in Scotland and Donaghadee in Ireland, by packet-boats, over and above all other rates — — — — — —	0	2
Letters to and from any part of England and any part of Scotland, not paſſing through London, Edinburgh, Dumfries, or Cockburnſpeth, are not chargeable, if ſingle, higher than — — — —	0	8

No. XII. Page 117.

Extract from Craig De Feudis.

SED de Parliamentis hoc unum monuiſſe ſufficiat, nihil ratum eſſe, nihil legis vim habere, niſi quod omnium trium ordinum conſenſu conjuncto conſtitutum eſt; ita tamen ut uniuſcujuſque ordinis per ſe major pars conſentiens pro toto ordine ſufficiat. Scio hodie controverti, an duo ordines Parliamenti, diſſentiente tertio, quaſi major pars, leges condere onera ſive realia ſive perſonalia imponere, ſtatuta nova introducere poſſint, cujus partem negantem boni omnes, & quicunque de hac re ſcripſerunt, pertinaciſſime tuentur, alioqui duo ordines in everſionem tertii, poſſunt convenire. Quod de everſionem dixi, idem de præjudicio & incommodo intelligendum.

No. XIII. Page 123.

Extract from Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland.

IF all men were bound to ſpend the proceed of their land on the land itſelf; then as all the proceed of Ireland ought to be ſpent in Ireland, ſo all the proceed of one county in Ireland ought to be ſpent in the ſame; of one barony in the ſame barony; and ſo pariſh and manor; and at length it would follow, that every eater ought to avoid what he hath eaten upon the ſame turf where the ſame grew. Moreover, this equal ſpending of wealth would deſtroy all ſplendour and ornament; for if it were not fit that one place ſhould be more ſplendid than another, ſo alſo no one man ſhould be greater or richer than another; for if ſo, then the wealth—ſuppoſe of Ireland, being perhaps 11 millions, being divided amongſt 1,100,000 people, then no one man having above 10*l.* could probably build a houſe worth perhaps 3*l.* which would be to leave the face of beggary on the whole nation; and with all ſuch parity, would beget anarchy and confuſion,—— P. 84, 85.

FINIS.

2

REPLY

TO A

MINISTERIAL PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED

"CONSIDERATIONS

"Upon the State of Public Affairs in the year 1799

"Ireland."

BY A PHILANTHROPIST.

"In attacks upon a free ſtate, every man will fight to defend it, becauſe "every man has ſomething to defend in it.—When bleſſings are gone, it is "madneſs to think that any man will ſpill his blood for him who took them "away."

Cato's Letters.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY THE BOOKSELLERS.

1799.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Writer of the following pages preſents them with diffidence to the Public, conſcious of ~~its~~ the many imperfections reſulting from ~~the~~ want of ability, and want of leiſure. His motives are honeſt, his intentions are virtuous, and his moſt anxious wiſh is to promote the happineſs of mankind in general, and of his countrymen in particular. Many parts of the *Miniſterial Pamphlet* remain unanſwered; but as the Replyer deſires only to guard his brethren from the deluſions of ſophiſtry and the deceptions of falſehood, he thinks it unneceſſary to ſwell his work to an enormous bulk; and if he has ſufficiently expoſed the artifices uſed by the Author of the "Conſiderations," to caution the well-meaning part of his countrymen, his endeavours will have been crowned with ſucceſs.

A REPLY, &c.

A LATE publication, entitled, "*Conſiderations upon the State of Public Affairs in the year* 1799, *in Ireland*," as the work of an unauthorized individual like myſelf, I ſhould conceive to be completely beneath my attention; but as the production of a *confidential miniſterialiſt*, I think it the duty of an honeſt Iriſhman to offer ſome remarks on the performance. Viewing it merely in the light of a combination of weak miſrepreſentations, puerile conceits, and groundleſs aſſertions, I deſpiſe the fabrication; but regarding it as a work publiſhed under the auſpices of Government, and circulated induſtriouſly as the compoſition of a nobleman *ſaid* to be well acquainted with the affairs of this country, I feel an anxiety to contradict what I think ſcarcely worthy of refutation. I cannot avoid conſidering this pamphlet as by far the moſt abſurd and irrational of the many which have been written to enlighten the *poor ignorant Iriſh*, in regard to the advantageous alterations inſeparable from the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain. Where the author intends to excite admiration, he attracts only ridicule; where he means to raiſe reſentment, he occaſions only contempt; and where he endeavours to diſunite the different ſects of Iriſhmen, he only ſtrengthens the bonds of affinity and affec-

tion. I am aſtoniſhed at the ignorance of human nature in general, and of the *Iriſh nature* in particular, which is evinced throughout the whole of this elaborate performance; and I know not whether to admire moſt, the folly of him who compoſed, or the weakneſs of thoſe who diſtributed this work with an intention of demonſtrating the propriety, advantage, and neceſſity of that meaſure. The innumerable abſurdities and incongruities of language and of ſtyle, perceptible in every paragraph, as matters of comparatively ſmall importance, I ſhall paſs by unnoticed; and, leaving the *manner* unmoleſted, confine my obſervations to the *matter*.

Sorry indeed am I to confeſs that the Britiſh Miniſter had not any cauſe to fear "on the part of Ireland a juſt oppoſition or rational diſlike to the meaſure:" it is long ſince he has met with any thing either *juſt* or *rational* amongſt thoſe with whom he has been connected in this "*devoted land*," and he had therefore but too much reaſon to expect that he would be ſupported, as uſual, with the moſt eager ſubſerviency (by the powerful men of this country) in every plan he might wiſh to introduce for the purpoſe of ſubjugating and impoveriſhing a nation which he fears and deteſts. But at length he has diſcovered his miſtake; he has found that even amongſt the friends to Britiſh connexion, there are enemies to Britiſh uſurpation; and he knows that amongſt the moſt loyal men in the kingdom, there are individuals who poſſeſs ſufficient ſpirit and virtue to oppoſe his pernicious innovations.

The confuſion of ſtyle obſervable in the "Conſi-

derations,"

derations," renders it a difficult matter to follow the author's train of reaſoning; but when he attempts to prove (or rather inſinuates an aſſertion) that "the final ſettlement of 1782" has been productive of all the recent calamities which have convulſed this iſland, it is hardly poſſible to ſuppreſs emotions of riſibility at the abſurdity of the fiction. He might as well attempt to perſuade us that "the final ſettlement of 1782" had occaſioned the French revolution, or the conqueſt of Egypt; and, in the event of this Legiſlative Union taking place, I ſhould not be ſurprized if ſuch a writer were gravely to inform us, that the next naval victory of a Duncan or a Nelſon was entirely produced by the ſucceſs of that "*glorious*" *meaſure*. The "*aſtoniſhing greatneſs of mind*" which dictated this plan is ſo far above the comprehenſion of *ignorant Iriſhmen*, that they muſt be pardoned for not beſtowing on it that degree of admiration which it claims: indeed the majority of them are ſilly enough to imagine that a few trivial conceſſions * (ſuch as *Catholic emancipation, abolition of tythes*, &c. &c.) more adapted to the level of their weak and uncultivated minds, would contribute more towards the tranquillization of their country than the overwhelming benefit which would probably prove to Hibernia ſuch a favour as did the Sabine bucklers to Tarpia.

* What did the whole power of Spain do againſt a few revolted provinces, when all the people were enraged by oppreſſion? How many armies were loſt? How many millions fooliſhly ſquandered, to recover by force, what *a few juſt conceſſions* would have done at once?

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 217.

It is almoſt unneceſſary, in this country, to declare that the noble author miſtakes moſt egregiouſly, when he aſſerts that the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union was rejected in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons becauſe "it was ſuppoſed to contain ſomething humiliating to the pride and dignity of Ireland," and I muſt be excuſed for ſaying that I ſuſpect this miſrepreſentation, and many others, have been deſignedly inſerted for the purpoſe of deceiving thoſe unprejudiced inquirers who may not have the opportunities requiſite for obtaining accurate information. However, leſt the noble author ſhould happen to be really miſinformed in this reſpect, I muſt tell him, that the inſulted dignity of the Iriſh nation was merely a ſecondary conſideration; and that the Houſe of Commons rejected the *beneficent* offer becauſe they were convinced that the meaſure muſt be accompanied by deſtruction to themſelves, their families, their poſterity, their properties, and their country. They knew that if it were advantageous, it would never have been offered; and they alſo knew that had the intentions of Miniſters been honeſt, it would never have been introduced in a manner ſo inſidious, and at a time ſo improper. It is probable that many members of that houſe (amongſt whom are ſome of the beſt informed and moſt enlightened men of the nation) had long ſince conſidered and weighed the advantages attendant on ſuch a plan, by which they diſcovered the impoſſibility that any modification of a Legiſlative Union could ever prove beneficial to this country, unleſs ſuch as would be injurious to Great Britain. Inſtead, therefore, of ſhunning the

diſcuſſion

diſcuſſion of this queſtion, leſt it ſhould "expoſe the people to the temptation and danger of overlooking the affront, in the utility of the meaſure," they ſhunned it becauſe they feared that the palpable injuſtice of the attempt, might rouſe the ſinking ſpirit of revolt, and rekindle the dormant flames of diſaffection. However inſignificant an unſucceſsful rebellion may appear in the eyes of Britiſh Miniſters, it is by no means an unimportant event in the contemplation of men, whoſe perſons and properties are expoſed to deſtruction in the conflict; and it is very natural that ſuch men ſhould be anxious to prevent any debate from which thoſe detrimental conſequences were likely to reſult.

I have ſcarcely patience to ſtrip the maſk from the weak impoſture of this work, and can hardly ſuppoſe that the flimſy covering is capable of concealing from the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, the deformity of the changeling's countenance. The attempt to throw up a new barrier between rich and poor, Proteſtant and Catholic, ſpeakers of Engliſh and ſpeakers of Iriſh, is equally futile and abſurd. It is not by telling the Proteſtants that they are a race of foreigners, Britiſh ſettlers, the uſurpers of a tract of land; it is not by telling the Catholics that they are the natives of the country, the rightful poſſeſſors, the antient inhabitants; that the noble author (or ten thouſand ſimilar to the noble author) could diſunite the real patriots of Ireland; and it will require very little knowledge of the ſtate of this country, to prove that it is a baſe miſrepreſentation; for we cannot forget that among the moſt

ſervile

ſervile adherents of Britiſh oppreſſion, ſeveral are the lineal deſcendants and bear the once honorable names of Iriſh chieftains, and that ſome of the warmeſt and nobleſt defenders of the rights and liberties of Erin, are among the poſterity of uſurpers!!! In fact, the deſcendants of the various nations which have at various times ſettled in this iſland, are now ſo blended together that it would be impoſſible, except amongſt a very few families, to determine which had moſt Scythian, which moſt Spaniſh, which moſt Daniſh, and which moſt Britiſh blood in their veins. In my opinion the man who has now the beſt title to the appellation of *Iriſhman*, is the inhabitant who loves his countrymen, who promotes the proſperity and who reſpects *the independence of Ireland.* If we are to believe antient writers on this ſubject, we have reaſon to ſuppoſe that formerly no people were ſo completely Iriſh, as thoſe immediately deſcended from Engliſh ſettlers; and Spencer (who appears to be almoſt as much prejudiced againſt an Iriſhman or a Papiſt, as even the noble author) ſays expreſsly of the Engliſh coloniſts, that "ſome of them are degenerated, and "grown mere Iriſh; yea, and more malicious to the "Engliſh, than the Iriſh themſelves." In another place he ſays, "the reſt which dwelt in Connaught "and in Mounſter, which is the ſweeteſt ſoil of Ire-"land, and ſome in Leinſter and Ulſter, are dege-"nerate; yea, and ſome of them have quite ſhaken "off the Engliſh names, and put on Iriſh, that they "might be altogether Iriſh." In another place he ſays, that ſome "did quite caſt off both their Eng-"liſh

" liſh name and allegiance: ſince which time they
" have ſo remained ſtill, and have ſince been count-
" ed mere Iriſh. The very like is alſo reported of the
" Mack-ſwynes, Mac-mahones, and Mac-ſhehies
" of Mounſter, how they likewiſe were anciently
" Engliſh, and the old followers to the Earl of Deſ-
" mond, until the reign of King Edward the Fourth:
" at which time the Earl of Deſmond that then
" was, called Thomas, being through falſe ſubor-
" nation (as they ſay) of the Queen, for ſome of-
" fence by her againſt him conceived, brought to
" his death at Tredagh moſt unjuſtly, notwithſtand-
" ing that he was a very good and ſound ſubject to
" the King; thereupon all his kinſmen of the Ge-
" raldines, which then was a mighty family in
" Mounſter, in revenge of that huge wrong, roſe
" into arms againſt the King, and utterly renounced
" and forſook all obedience to the Crown of Eng-
" land; to whom the ſaid Mac-ſwines, Mac-ſhehies,
" and Mac-mahones, being then ſervants and fol-
" lowers, did the like, and have ever ſithence ſo
" continued. And with them (they ſay) all the peo-
" ple of Mounſter went out, and many other of
" them which were Engliſh, thenceforth joined with
" the Iriſh againſt the King, and termed themſelves
" very Iriſh, taking on them Iriſh habits and cuſ-
" toms, which could never ſince be clean wiped
" away; but the contagion hath remained ſtill
" amongſt their poſterities. . . . . .
" . . . Other great houſes there be of the Eng-
" liſh in Ireland, which through licentious converſ-
" ing with the Iriſh, or marrying, or foſtering with
" them,

« them, or lack of meet nurture, or other such un-
« happy occaſions, have degenerated from their an-
« cient dignities." In this paſſage there are two things deſerving of the noble author's attention; firſt the early *degenerateneſs* of the Engliſh *colony*, and ſecondly the cauſe which impelled the Geraldines and ſo many other families to become « mere Iriſh." It appears as if there was in Ireland a peculiar proneneſs to affiliate the deſcendants of coloniſts, and as obſervations of this nature have been ſo frequently made at different times, it is much to be feared that there is ſomething peſtilential in the air, which occaſions this extraordinary infamy; and as no antidote of ſufficient ſtrength to protect the multitude, has yet been diſcovered, I muſt recommend to the noble author and his Engliſh friends to ſhun this contagious air, and to import into their civilized land all the inhabitants of this iſle who prefer *Britiſh Fraternity* to *Iriſh Independence.*

I ſhould wiſh to be informed how many hundred years the noble author ſuppoſes it neceſſary for a race of people to inhabit a country, before they can acquire the appellation of natives; whether Ireland requires a longer reſidence to beſtow this title than other lands, and (in the caſe of an iſland being peopled in different parts by colonies from different nations) which part of the country is ſuppoſed to appertain to the rightful inhabitants? The noble author would be much ſurpriſed if the inhabitants of Wales were to denominate the inhabitants of England a colony of uſurpers, or if the people of France were to pretend to a power over Great Britain,

tain, becauſe that many hundred years ago ſome of the natives of that country invaded and planted colonies in the iſland; and were any Welch or French pamphleteers to hazard ſuch an aſſertion, the Engliſh would very juſtly conſider them as eligible inhabitants of Bedlam. The noble author will (I believe) confeſs that what he calls the "Engliſh colony," has been ſettled in Ireland rather longer than the inhabitants of North America in their portion of the Weſtern world, and yet he allows to the latter their appropriate appellation. It appears as if he intended to reproach the Iriſh ſettlers for not having long ſince employed the ſame exertions for Liberty, which beſtowed a name, a character, and a conſtitution on the American ſettlers: but the noble author ſhould recollect, that nations will endure very numerous and ſevere oppreſſions, before they will have recourſe to the violent operations of Revolution; and probably had America been very little leſs oppreſſed, it would remain at this day a dependent province of Great Britain. It is difficult to produce, and eaſy to prevent, Revolutions; but there is a degree of tyranny which no nation can endure. Men ſeldom fight about the forms or names of Government—for let the form be ever ſo imperfect, or the name ever ſo offenſive, "make the people happy, and you may make them loyal.*"

* Philoſophical Survey of the South of Ireland.

Whilſt men enjoy protection, plenty and happineſs, they will always deſire to continue them, and never look after Revolutions; . . . . . therefore, whoever would endeavour to preſerve a preſent eſtabliſhment, muſt make the people eaſy and contented under it, and to find their own account in the continuance of it.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 86.

For my own part, ſuppoſing that I were to conſider hereditary monarchs in the abſtract as ridiculous as ever did Thomas Paine, yet I could idolize a King, whoſe mild and judicious adminiſtration beſtowed on his ſubjects rational liberty and virtuous happineſs: and though a Republican form of government ſhould be thought in theory the beſt calculated to promote the morality and felicity of a ſtate, I ſhould glory in the ſubverſion of one, which under that name, had proved itſelf vicious and tyrannical.*

I lament the noble author's difficulty in underſtanding that barbarous term, *Ireland*; and leſt he ſhould miſconceive my meaning, when I happen to make uſe of the vulgar appellation in the courſe of the following pages, I ſhall briefly inform him, that when I mention this ſavage word, I mean to ſignify an iſland† (ſometimes called *Hibernia*, *Innisfail*, or *Erin*,) ſurrounded by the Atlantic Ocean, *which ſeparates it from every other land*; temperate, fertile and ſalubrious; bleſſed with the fineſt bays and moſt commodious harbours in the known world; particularly adapted for commerce and independence; peopled by a numerous, healthy and courageous race, who are (like the inhabitants of moſt other countries) compoſed of the deſcendants of va-

* All governments, under whatſoever form they are adminiſtered, ought to be adminiſtered for the good of ſociety; and when they are otherwiſe adminiſtered, they ceaſe to be government, and become uſurpation.

Cato's Letters, 2d Vol. p. 41.

† I do not mean to inſinuate any doubt of the noble author's geographical knowledge; but as local circumſtances always affect the national character of a people, I mention the country with its inhabitants.

rious

rious colonies from various nations, and amongſt whom are ſome bad men and many good, ſome fools and many wiſe, ſome ſervile diſpoſitions and many independent characters. The inhabitants may be at this time divided into three parts—the Britiſh faction, the moderate loyaliſts, and the advocates for revolution. The former, which is the ſmalleſt party, comprizes an hoſt of placemen, penſioners, and expectants; tyrannical fools, bigoted Proteſtants, and that ſort of men* who are ready to become the partizans of any nation or government who pays highly. The ſecond diviſion comprehends all thoſe who, from well grounded apprehenſions of anarchy, are attached to the exiſting eſtabliſhment; all the friends of moderate reform; the independent members of both Houſes of Parliament; moſt of the opulent Roman Catholics; many mercantile men, and private gentlemen of fortune. The third party is compoſed of a great many perſons of brilliant abilities, enthuſiaſtic tempers, and ſmall fortunes; ſeveral men of independent property; a large proportion of the middling claſs, and the majority of the lower claſſes of every denomination. This portion of the population of the country, is at leaſt equal (if not ſuperior) in number, to the moderate party; but I fear that moſt of the higher claſſes are engulphed in the ſmall party firſt mentioned. Indeed,

* Thoſe who would ſacrifice their duty to their intereſt; and unconcerned what becomes of the reſt of mankind, would promote tyranny, if they might but ſhine in its trappings.

Cato's Letters, 2d Vol. p. 31.

excepting a very few individuals, our men* of high rank and large fortune, are creatures whoſe hearts are contracted, whoſe minds are vulgarized, and whoſe morals are depraved. But (thank God!) there are many virtuous characters in Ireland; and it is *an iſland* which all the ardent wiſhes of the noble author and his teſty partizans, will never unite to the Britiſh ſhore, nor "precipitate to the bottom of the ocean."

This author ſeems to ſuppoſe that by endeavouring to perſuade the Iriſh Proteſtants that they are a dependent colony, he will induce them to become ſuch in reality; but however theſe artifices may deceive the timid, the mercenary, and the mean, they are too ſhallow to impoſe on the perſons whom he wiſhes to cajole. If there were none but Papiſts, mere Iriſhmen and deſcendants from Iriſh ſepts, concerned in the late conſpiracy, I ſhall be ſatisfied to reſign my reaſon into the hands of Engliſh pamphleteers, to believe only their creeds, and to ſee only with their eyes; but if it is poſſible to prove that in this plot were implicated a proportionate number of Proteſtants, deſcendants from mere Engliſh, and the poſterity of Britiſh coloniſts, I ſhall continue to credit my own ſenſes, to adhere to my own faith, and to truſt my own reaſon, weak

* Educated in idleneſs, debauchery, and ignorance; taught to believe that greatneſs conſiſts in pride, inſolence and extravagance; and ſo, for the moſt part, want every qualification proper to adorn their characters. . . . . At laſt their neceſſities make them ſubmit to a paltry penſion; and, inſtead of being the generous aſſertors of public liberty, they become the mean and humble inſtruments of power.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 260.

and

and Iriſh as it is. The unhappy diſtinctions which have too long ſubſiſted amongſt the inhabitants of this iſland, are recapitulated in this inſidious yet abſurd pamphlet, with a baſe intention of renewing thoſe differences which have been ſo frequently and ſo unfortunately rouſed by ſimilar endeavours; but it is to be hoped that we are now completely aware of thoſe malicious attempts, and that Proteſtants, Catholics and Diſſenters, will join in forming an invincible phalanx to defend the expiring independence of their country. My Countrymen! ye who firſt drew breath in this perſecuted land! ye who inhale the native air of Ireland! let not the arts of thoſe who weep not for your ſorrows, who rejoice not in your bleſſings, diſunite you. *Remember that you are brethren*, and in your attachment to peace, your abhorrence of tumult, and your deteſtation of anarchy, *forget not that you are Iriſhmen!*

The noble author talks of *awakening the Britiſh colony* (by which, I ſuppoſe, he means the placemen and penſioners, the ſuckers of Iriſh blood, and the ſcoffers at Iriſh patriotiſm) and I ſincerely wiſh that ſome of the noble author's partizans had taken the trouble of *awakening* him, before he attempted to write on Iriſh affairs; as it is very evident that when he entered on the ſubject, he was unfortunately under the impreſſion of ſome terrific dream, or had juſt ſhaken off a Popiſh Incubus. It is to this cauſe alone that I can aſcribe the wild idea of a *Catholic Republic*, ſo repeatedly mentioned in the courſe of this contemptible production. It is well known that univerſal toleration was one of the principal objects

objects of the reforming conſpirators, ſo that it will be impoſſible to connect them with the Papiſts, by the chain of "Catholic Republic;" a whim which muſt have ariſen in the inflated brain of a porter-puffed Engliſhman, as it certainly cannot be of Iriſh growth.

The noble author has no need to apologize for any of his inſults. That which excites contempt will not occaſion reſentment; and his *fancies* (or whatever elſe he pleaſes to call them) muſt only be deſpiſed: for, as I have before declared, it is the *authority* and not the *work* which claims attention. I would not ſtop to contradict the impudent, invidious, and falſe aſſertions, reſpecting the non-antiquity of this iſland, but that it is poſſible that theſe pages may be read by Iriſhmen ſo ignorant of the hiſtory of their native land, as to be induced to give credit to theſe groundleſs allegations. For, to the ſhame of Ireland I muſt acknowledge, that it has been too much the cuſtom to neglect inſtructing our youth in the annals of that country, reſpecting which they ought to be particularly intereſted; and even where it is thought proper to give them any information reſpecting Iriſh hiſtory, it is merely* the books written by bigoted Proteſtants and prejudiced Engliſhmen that they are permitted to peruſe. I muſt be pardoned for digreſſing to make ſome obſervations on a ſubject which is of much importance to real Iriſhmen. Amongſt the numerous cauſes which

* Such as Temple's account of the Iriſh Rebellion of 1641, in which we have *affidavits* (relative to *Proteſtant ghoſts* ſhrieking for vengeance againſt their *Papiſt murderers*,) ſimilar to that of *Mr. Richard Grandy* on a late occaſion.

have

have combined to render this noble iſland completely ſubſervient to the views of Britiſh Miniſters, is the ſyſtem of education which has been (with very few exceptions) adopted by the higher claſſes of its inhabitants. One of the firſt ideas implanted in the youthful minds is a contempt for the land they ought to love; and one of the firſt principles inculcated, is that of a profound reſpect for Engliſh manners, Engliſh cuſtoms, and Engliſh perſons, be they ever ſo inelegant, vicious, and contemptible. No education is conſidered ſo unfaſhionable, no language ſo diſcordant, no accent ſo vulgar, as the Iriſh. The natural conſequences of thoſe early prejudices are tyranny, diſguſt, and expatriation. Some unworthy ſons of Hibernia cannot even be perſuaded that the lower claſs in their native country are poſſeſſed of the common capacities of other peaſants; and ſome of the partizans of Britiſh inſolence even go ſo far as to declare, that nothing but extermination and new colonization can render Ireland a ſuitable habitation for enlightened men: but (thanks to the all-powerful Being who ſurrounded our country with the ocean!) the number of thoſe who ſupport this deteſtable opinion is very inſignificant, and thoſe few are not remarkable for either talents or information.—When we conſider the cuſtomary mode of education amongſt the higher claſſes of Iriſhmen, and all the various methods purſued to *anglicize* them, we muſt ceaſe to wonder that patriotiſm and public virtue are ſo rare amongſt our men of rank and fortune. In regard to the peaſantry of Ireland, I know few national characters which ſo powerfully attract the admiration

miration of a liberal mind; but whilſt we reſpect the talents, the courage, the hoſpitality, and generoſity of our poor and unhappy countrymen, we muſt lament the unfortunate diſtortions of virtue, ſo frequently produced by ceaſeleſs impolicy of treatment. However cruelly-harſh uſage may have goaded human nature in Ireland, it has *not* "degraded the human character," and perhaps a day may yet arrive when this ſhall be demonſtrated. But to return to the antiquity of my beloved country—It is extremely difficult to trace the ancient, or indeed the modern hiſtory of our iſland, as it has ever been the cuſtom of invaders to uſe their utmoſt exertions for the purpoſe of deſtroying every monument of antiquity, and annihilating every veſtige of former ſplendour, which might remind the ſubdued people that they had once poſſeſſed independence. Nothing ſo much conduces to the ſupport of national virtue, as hiſtorical evidences of former celebrity. This the Engliſh knew but too well, and the effects of this knowledge has been fatally deſtructive to the documents of Iriſh literature. However, they have not been ſo completely ſucceſsful in their attempts to ſuppreſs every proof of the former cultivation and glory of this nation, but I may be authorized to aſſert, that the civilization of this iſle was long anterior to that of Great Britain; that the arts and ſciences were cultivated here, in very remote ages; that Ireland was once remarkable for literary knowledge, and that multitudes of Iriſh manuſcripts have been at various times deſtroyed by thoſe mercileſs invaders, who endeavoured to barbarize a nation

which

which they could not excel. In fact, the ſame paltry policy, and ignoble jealouſy, have been obſervable in all their ſubſequent conduct; and even in this enlightened age they may, perhaps, be traced in the preſent project of a Legiſlative Union. It is to no purpoſe to contradict the aſſertions of ignorance; but I ſhall juſt recommend to the noble author the peruſal of thoſe works* which treat of ancient Ireland (and have at leaſt as much claim to belief as thoſe reſpecting other countries,) before he expects to gain credit when he affirms, that "all uſeful knowledge of it is coeval with Engliſh connexion!"

I know not what is meant by "criminal indulgence to *her colony*;" nor indeed can I diſcover the ſignification of many other phraſes adopted in this publication; but the hacknied expreſſion of "*her colony*" will not anſwer the purpoſe of the noble author, and may occaſion obſervations of which he is not aware. It is no honour to the Engliſh to mark for their deſcendants, all thoſe who are moſt tyrannical, unjuſt, mercenary, and mean; but I ſhould be very willing to reſign them to the parent by whom they are claimed, did I not think it neceſſary to expoſe the numerous miſrepreſentations, ignorances, and falſehoods, with which this deteſtable compoſition abounds. The hoſtile parties are not, by any means, ſuch as the noble author appears to ſuppoſe, and endeavours to repreſent. They are not the Catholic and the Proteſtant, the Mileſian and the

* Spencer's State of Ireland, &c. &c. &c.

Cromwellian, the firſt poſſeſſor and the ſecond poſſeſſor of the land: No;—But I ſhall not preſume to depict them. We do not reproach any man with the crimes of his anceſtors; we do not oppoſe the children through reſentment to the fathers; but we endeavour to reſiſt the progreſs of thoſe who would encroach upon our freedom. The ancient wars of Ireland, like all other civil wars, have been barbarous and inhuman; but it is difficult (indeed I might ſay impoſſible) to aſcertain on which ſide the greateſt cruelties were perpetrated, as each party accuſes the other: however, all honeſt and unprejudiced perſons muſt agree, that the crimes committed by men, fighting for the land which they had uſurped, muſt be conſidered more atrocious than thoſe of men fighting for the property of which they had been recently diſpoſſeſſed. But it is of very little importance to the preſent queſtion, in what manner their progenitors conducted themſelves five or ſix hundred years ago; and I mention theſe circumſtances merely to convince the noble author, that I am not unacquainted with thoſe parts of Iriſh hiſtory to which his knowledge appears to be confined; and that I have read ſome of thoſe works which he appears to conſider authentic. For the information of certain perſons who may chance to peruſe theſe pages after the work of the noble author, I think it neceſſary to declare, that his endeavour to perſuade his readers, that the late rebellion in this country proceeded from the ancient inhabitants, the Roman Catholics, the claimants of forfeited eſtates, is as baſe as his aſſertions are falſe and malevolent: and one very

very remarkable circumſtance attendant on that event, is, that the only place where it aſſumed a formidable appearance was in the county of Wexford, the very part of our iſland where the firſt Britiſh invaders landed, and where the firſt Britiſh colony was eſtabliſhed.

It is very poſſible that the greater part of the inhabitants of Ireland may be "intoxicated with viſions of liberty," but the noble author errs extremely in ſuppoſing that they have been urged on to the purſuit of it "by foreign gold." However, as we are all very prone to form our opinions of others according to that which they have a right to form reſpecting us; and as the noble author evinces a particular attachment to arguments by analogy, we muſt not be ſurpriſed at the ſuppoſition*. The inſinuations and aſſertions reſpecting the Catholics thirſting for revenge, are groundleſs and flagitious. A race of people, ſo peculiarly oppreſſed as the peaſantry of Ireland, cannot fail to be diſcontented; but it is illiberal and malicious, indeed, to ſubſtitute the word *catholic* for *peaſant*, upon every occaſion. The Catholics are not all poor, nor are the poor all Catholics. However ignorant in many reſpects the noble author may be, he muſt know that all perſons debarred the advantages of inſtruction, muſt be illiterate; and he cannot ſuppoſe that a proteſtant mob in England can, without educa-

* A creature that lets out his genius to hire, may ſometimes have a very good one; but he muſt have a vile and beggarly ſoul, and his performances are, at the beſt, but the baſeſt way of petitioning for alms.

Cato's Letters, 2d Vol. p. 198.

tion, acquire knowledge, liberality, and virtue more rapidly than a papiſt mob in Ireland. It is truly melancholy to ſee religion ſo conſtantly made an excuſe for the moſt mean, immoral, and atrocious deeds, and that Chriſtianity * in particular, which we have every reaſon to conſider the moſt favourable to peace, virtue, and happineſs, ſhould be ſo frequently rendered the tool of deſigning perſons, devoid of any attachment to their neighbour, their country, or their God. I believe that, in material points, all reaſonable and virtuous men muſt think alike; but unfortunately it generally happens that thoſe people who talk moſt fluently on the ſubject of religion, are ſeldom poſſeſſed of enlarged minds, cultivated underſtandings, or pure intentions.

I do not imagine that the gilded bait of nominal emancipation, will now delude the Catholics, who have been too long learning in the ſchool of adverſity, to truſt the promiſes of intereſted oppreſſors. But even if this were of ſuch mighty importance, that the laſt remaining ſupport of Iriſh independence was to be ſurrendered in exchange for it, what aſſurances ſhall we have that it will be granted after this *unnatural* Union? Who will ſupport

* Even the Chriſtian religion can do but little or no good in lands of tyranny, ſince miracles have ceaſed; but is made to do infinite harm, by being corrupted and perverted into a deadly engine in the hands of a tyrant and his impoſtors, to rivet his ſubjects chains, and to confirm them wretches, ſlaves, and ignorants. I cannot indeed ſay, that they have the Chriſtian religion at all amongſt them, but only uſe its amiable name to countenance abominable falſehoods, and nonſenſe, and heavy oppreſſion.

Cato's Letters, 2d Vol. p. 94.

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the Catholics in their claim to the fulfilment of theſe inſidiouſly oblique promiſes? Who will compel the Britiſh Miniſter to the performance of theſe unguaranteed arguments? The well-educated claſs of Catholics are far ſuperior to being "the dupes of prieſts, of foreigners, of political reformers, of parties, or promiſes;" nor do they look for that revenge which is ſuppoſed to be ſo delightful: and in regard to the uneducated portion of that ſect, they cannot enjoy the high honour and ſupreme ſatisfaction of ſtudying the noble author's tranſcendant productions. I ſhould be glad to know who informed him of the *antipathies* ſubſiſting between the inhabitants of Ireland deſcended from Engliſh ſettlers, and thoſe deſcended from colonies from other nations; and I ſhould alſo wiſh to know by what means he diſcovered, that the cattle houghed, the trees felled, the houſes attacked, were only thoſe of Proteſtants and the poſterity of Britons. Theſe falſehoods are too obvious to require contradiction; but I ſhall once more intreat the noble author to withhold his dreams from the eye of the public, or to have them printed as ſuch; and would therefore recommend, that inſtead of impoſing on mankind by giving his viſions the ſober title of "Conſiderations," he ſhould have a new edition of his pamphlet publiſhed with the more applicable name of *Whims*, *Reveries*, or *Fancies*.

"*Divide et impera*," has long been the maxim of Britiſh Miniſters, with regard to this kingdom; but thoſe jugglers have played this trick ſo often, that

that it ceaſes to produce its wonted effects, and conſequently the noble author will find it difficult to revive under the novel appellations of "*Coloniſts* and *Natives*," the almoſt obſolete parties of *Orangemen* and *Papiſts*. It is now tolerably evident to all parties, for what purpoſe they were irritated and oppoſed to each other; and I believe I may venture to affirm that the Orangeman and the Papiſt are equally determined in their antipathy to the projected Union. It is not by oblique cenſures of the Orange party that the Catholics will be induced to ſupport a meaſure replete with injuries to Ireland; nor is it by ſtigmatizing the name of Catholic, that the Orangemen will be cajoled to favour a plan ſo injurious to their country. Indeed we now have reaſon to hope, that both perceive the real cauſes of the efforts made to produce and promote diſſenſions amongſt them, and that it will not again be in the power of deſigning villains with ſtrong heads and cold hearts, to diſunite men who muſt ever find it their true intereſt to conſider each other as *friends* and *brethren*.

As I am only deſirous of giving a brief anſwer to what relates to my own country, and have not beſides, the ſame opportunities of acquiring accurate information reſpecting diſtant lands, I ſhall ſay very little on the ſubject of America, on which the noble author has favoured us with ſuch a tedious diſſertation; at the ſame time, that I muſt remark the ſame ſpecies of falſehood and malice in the obſervations on American, as in thoſe on Iriſh affairs. I do not perceive that the American coloniſts who

"drove

"drove the ſavages behind the frontiers," have been in any degree more ſubſervient than the Iriſh coloniſts who mixed with the people by whom the land was inhabited prior to their invaſion; and I firmly believe that the only circumſtance which has hitherto preſerved the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, is the nature of that connexion, and the degree of apparent and nominal independence poſſeſſed by the laſt mentioned country. America was loſt by being conſidered and treated as a dependant province, and Ireland may be loſt by the ſame means. The analogy between Scotland and Ireland, is very obſcure; and yet by what means has that part of the iſland of Great Britain been preſerved to the crown of England, but by draining the country of its inhabitants and of its wealth? Whilſt it poſſeſſed an appropriate portion of either, it was as prone to reſiſtance as this country; but I believe it is now well known that great part of Scotland has very little means of rebelling, unleſs the mountains could be *diſciplined*, and the rocks *organized*. The noble author in his copious diſquiſition on the affairs of Scotland, appears to have totally forgotten the *two rebellions* which have taken place in that country ſince the Union; but theſe, as *mere trifles*, are entirely omitted in this brilliant and elaborate narration.

However frequently and ſneeringly the noble author may uſe the term "*Engliſh coloniſt*," it will never have the effect he intends to produce: on the contrary, there are very few among the inhabitants of Ireland who will not *ſcorn the appellation*;

tion; and if the noble author would export all thoſe who deſpiſe the honourable name of Iriſhman, it would probably prove the moſt beneficial mode of reſtoring peace to this perturbed land. Iriſhmen really united (I do not mean to uſe the language of diſaffection) could defy either England or France; and if ever the day arrives in which religious and political diſſenſions ſhall be annihilated, the inhabitants of this iſland will be equally adverſe to French invaſions, and Britiſh Unions; equally hoſtile to French troops landing with the avowed intention of effecting a revolution in the country, and Britiſh armies pouring in for the pretended purpoſe of protecting it from danger. The Engliſh Miniſter is little acquainted with the Iriſh ſpirit, if he does not perceive that he is laying the foundation of a complete revolution: he muſt know that Ireland is at this moment retained to the Britiſh empire by force of arms, and he cannot be ignorant (for he has been repeatedly warned, both here and in England) that until there is ſome attempt to conciliate the nation, he muſt continue to preſerve the connexion with the ſword. This may poſſibly be juſt what he deſires, for this method of governing a nation, is the moſt favourable for a ſyſtem of corruption. The taſk-maſters of Ireland may furniſh excuſes for new taxes, and the *United Iriſhmen in London* for new penal laws; but in the midſt of his ruinous career, let not the Miniſter forget that this ſpecies of connexion cannot continue long, and that even before the death of Pitt, the tie may be diſſolved. The Miniſter, and his partizan the

noble

noble author, will find, that in regard to their favourite project, no efforts will have ſufficient power to remove "*the deep-rooted prejudice of Ireland.*"

The queſtion of "competency," has been ſo often and ſo ably diſcuſſed, that I am unwilling to enter on the ſubject; but as the noble author wiſhes to know, why the right of fixing the Conſtitution in 1782, was better than that of reſigning the Iriſh Parliament in 1799? I will anſwer him,—for the ſame reaſon that a man would have a better right to accept for his hungry child food than poiſon. The Parliament of Ireland had a better right to accept of the *final ſettlement of* 1782, firſt, becauſe it was generally conſidered as a real and unequivocal benefit to the nation; and ſecondly, becauſe that if it had proved to be an erroneous arrangement, the next Parliament would have had it in their power to correct and reform thoſe parts which might require alteration. But in reſpect to the preſent plan, it is far different; firſt, becauſe the meaſure appears to be generally deemed an undoubted and poſitive injury to the nation; and ſecondly, that it deſtroys every poſſibility of future reviſal or correction. When this pernicious meaſure ſhall be once fixed, we ſhall have no reſource but in a revolution, and a revolution it will infallibly produce.* The noble

* Men will always feel their ſtrength, when they cannot reaſon upon it, or are afraid to do ſo.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 126.

Thoſe who have power, will endeavour to keep it; and thoſe who ſuffer under it, will endeavour to take it away, and the event will be in the will of Heaven alone.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 134.

author calls "the final ſettlement of 1782," a "*fatal boon*;" and I, as a ſincere friend to the true Iriſh independence, perfectly agree in the opinion. I think that had it not been for *that fatal boon*, which has for ſeventeen years preſerved this country to the Britiſh empire, we ſhould long ſince have been a free nation, enjoying all the natural and political bleſſings for which we appear to be ſo peculiarly adapted. Our harbours would be filled with ſhips, our towns with riches; our nobles would be virtuous, our peaſants happy; our government would be juſt, our people contented; our friendſhip would be courted, our reſentment feared. In ſhort, the clouds of anarchy would be paſt, and the bright ſun of peace would illumine our happy iſland. Good God! How melancholy the contraſt!—— I cannot trace the ſoul-revolting picture.——"That this final ſettlement was impoſſible to laſt"—I do not pretend to doubt; but that it has aided in preſerving the connexion between England and Ireland longer than it would otherwiſe have continued, I have no doubt. A connexion between two countries ſo ſeparated, muſt ever be unſtable; for notwithſtanding all the *cant* of the *faſhionable loyaliſts*, it will always require an extraordinary degree of addreſs to preſerve a connexion ſo unnatural.

The noble author has taken infinite pains to demonſtrate the iniquity of Britiſh Miniſters, in their conduct to this country. He imagines that the time is arrived, when thoſe offences may be ſafely diſplayed, and he fancies that the Iriſh mind will be ſo ſtruck, that in the firſt paroxyſm of horror at the deve-

developement of this glaring injuſtice, it will plunge in the abyſs of an Incorporate Union, as the only ſafeguard from future villainy. But he has entirely overlooked another train of ideas, which this exhibition of depravity may chance to produce in the minds of Iriſhmen, and which I do not think neceſſary to detail in this place. His catalogue of offences is certainly juſt—I attempt not to deny the multiplicity of placemen and penſioners; the venal titles, and the ſaleable peers; "the empire of the Cuſtom-houſe," and the proſtitution of military honours. On the contrary, I rather believe theſe matters to be even worſe than the noble author repreſents them; and I perfectly agree in opinion with him, that a remedy is deſirable, but not an Union; for that is a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe.

It is extremely abſurd, and ſuppoſes a wonderful degree of ignorance in his readers, for the noble author to inſinuate that the Iriſh Parliament has been peculiarly adverſe to Catholic emancipation; as it is well known in this kingdom, that the ill ſucceſs of that meaſure was entirely produced by the intrigues of Britiſh Miniſters. The recal of Lord Fitzwilliam, and all the tranſactions immediately preceding and ſubſequent to that event, are too recent to be forgotten by Iriſhmen; and we are all well convinced, that even the preſent Parliament would be eaſily induced to accord thoſe privileges deſired by the Catholics of Ireland.* Was the repeal of ſo many penal laws, a matter "beyond

* If permitted by the Miniſter.

the reach, controul, and authority of her independent Parliament? And is it probable, that those would have been repealed in an Imperial Senate?—Are the Engliſh people leſs prejudiced againſt the Catholics, or have they hitherto evinced more liberality than the Iriſh Parliament? If we are to judge by the preſent ſtate of their penal code againſt the Catholics of England, and by the writings of ſuch Engliſhmen as the noble author, we muſt conſider them to be ignorant, malicious, and diſhoneſt. The noble author affects to ſpeak with great commiſeration of the diſtreſſes of Ireland. The country may poſſibly be the ſcene of much miſery, but the wretchedneſs of the inhabitants may alſo be much encreaſed by an Union. He muſt allow that there are many degrees of wretchedneſs; if he does not, he knows little indeed of the Iriſh poor.

I do not exactly comprehend the panegyrics on Engliſh manners, and cannot help conſidering thoſe of the lower claſs as much leſs civilized than the manners of the Iriſh peaſantry, who are generous and hoſpitable, and conſequently civil and friendly to ſtrangers. The noble author's oblique cenſures of the Orange party, will not produce the effect he imagines, of conciliating the Catholics; and I am well authorized to aſſure him, that ſome trifling conceſſions, in regard to a removal of the exiſting diſqualifications, would have more power in ſoothing their diſſatisfactions, than the keeneſt hopes of revenge; for his aſſertions reſpecting the "deſpair and revolt of the Catholics," are as thoroughly devoid of foundation as many of his other declarations.

I hope

I hope that all the inhabitants of Ireland will observe and remember, that the noble author has heard "an atrocious policy avowed in the public councils, by which they (the Irish) were to be armed and let loose upon one another." I hope the Proteſtant and the Catholic, the Orangeman and the United Iriſhman, will never forget this confeſſion; that they will diſappoint ſuch ſanguinary views, and elude ſuch the invidious endeavours of their plauſible tyrants. Amongſt many other artful attempts in this ſhallow production, is that to reconcile the Engliſh by flattery and adulation of the groſſeſt ſort, to a meaſure, which is almoſt as injurious to their intereſts as to thoſe of Ireland. But if they can be cajoled by the trite expreſſions of "great and generous nation," &c. &c. and the fulſome cant about "the virtues, the moderation, and the magnanimity of Britain," ſufficiently to induce them to throw ſuch a degree of power into the hands of a Miniſter, who has already diſfigured the face of their once beautiful conſtitution, with the ſcars of deſpotiſm;* I ſhall only ſay that they are not the independent people I ſuppoſed them to be, and that the iron hand of power has injured them more than the Iriſh, by degrading their minds, and extinguiſhing that ſpirit of liberty which aggrandized their country, invigorated its commerce, and enriched its inhabitants. Do they ſuppoſe that the importation of fifty

* Alas! Power daily encroaches upon Liberty, with a ſucceſs too evident; and the balance between them is almoſt loſt.

Cato's Letters, 2d Vol. p. 225.

ty or an hundred Iriſh mercenaries, will not add to their hourly-encreaſing penal laws? Do they imagine that any Iriſhman, poſſeſſed of honeſt principles or public virtue, will ever be returned to the Imperial Parliament? Do they expect that men who ſell the intereſts of their own country, will ſhew any forbearance towards theirs? No. Much as they are deceived, and great as the efforts are to delude them, they muſt be ſenſible that none of the "*Anglo-Iriſh*" Senators will ever conſider any but their own individual intereſt. Men who have ſacrificed the welfare of their own country, for the paltry compenſation of a few thouſands, a new name,* or a bit of ribbon, will not ſcruple to ſacrifice that of another country with equal facility. I have no doubt of the ſincerity with which the noble author would rejoice to ſee the iſland of Hibernia poſſeſſed of the ſame degree of independence as "Scotland is, or Yorkſhire, or Cornwall;" but I ſtill truſt that there exiſts a ſufficient virtue in the land, to reject, with contempt, the proffered boon.

As for the United Iriſhmen (whom the noble author, in page 43, ſeems to conſider as a party diſtinct from the Catholics, though in other places he appears to ſuppoſe that all the Catholics are rebels, as well as all the rebels Catholics), I ſhall not attempt to vindicate their actions, or pretend to develope their motives; but the noble author has made ſo many falſe aſſertions in the courſe of this work, that it is not impoſſible that his account of the United

* Or *nick-name*, as Godwin very truly calls it.

Iriſhmen

Iriſhmen may be remote from the truth.* In future days, when the clouds of prejudice ſhall be diſpelled, and the diſtortions of miſrepreſentation removed; when thoſe who now exert their various talents for the advantage or deſtruction of their fellow creatures, ſhall be no more; when peace ſhall return to bleſs the earth, and events long paſt ſhall be conſidered with impartiality; the United men of Ireland will be judged according to their merits, and the clear voice of truth will be heard in their defence, or in their condemnation. Their motives, their intentions, and their errors, cannot now be diſcuſſed with any degree of juſtice or propriety—I ſhall therefore diſmiſs the ſubject.

It is very evident that the deſcriptions of perſons on whom Miniſters moſt fear and doubt their power of impoſition, are the humane, moderate men of all ſects, and the loyal Roman Catholics; a conſiderable body, whom they wiſh to attach to their party. The noble author imagines, that by affecting to believe all the Catholics diſaffected, he will terrify the timid, and ſhock the courageous; by holding out the lure of complete emancipation, he will flatter the vain, and rouſe the ambitious;

* Men have been ever deceived by good names, into an approbation of ill things, ſanctified by thoſe names. Impoſture and deluſion have been called religion, and thought ſo; oppreſſion and rapine have been called government, and eſteemed government; teachers have degenerated into deceivers, ſubmiſſion into ſlavery; without changing their names: power and right have been ever confounded; and ſucceſs, or the want of ſucceſs, has turned villainy into virtue, and virtue into villainy.

Cato's Letters, 2d Vol. p. 17.

and

and by expreſſing a deteſtation and abhorrence of the Orange faction and their offences, he will gratify the reſentful, and cajole the benevolent. In ſhort, it is very clear that he intends to deceive all parties, and to promote the impending Union, by oppoſing them to each other. But ſurely the loyal Catholics may prove their attachment to the exiſting Government, without meanly acceding to a meaſure detrimental to themſelves and to their Proteſtant brethren; they may reaſonably expect a ſpeedy removal of their preſent diſqualifications, from a Parliament which has already removed ſo many of their grievances; and they may hope to ſee the prejudices of the Orange party diſpelled, without ſeeing Ireland degraded and deſtroyed. Indeed it is earneſtly to be wiſhed, that their common wrongs may annihilate their mutual diſlikes; that they will ceaſe to be the dupes of men who have excited diſſenſions between them, for the purpoſe of ſubjugating both parties; that the Catholic will remember that the Orangeman is his brother Iriſhman, and that the Orangeman will recollect that if the Conſtitution (eſtabliſhed at the *glorious revolution*) which he has ſworn to defend, be aſſailed by Engliſh Miniſters, he is bound to oppoſe their endeavours. If the Conſtitution be injured, is it of any conſequence whether it be by a Pope or a Prime-Miniſter? And if we are to have innovations, ſhould it make any difference to us whether they are introduced by an Iriſh Catholic or an Engliſh Proteſtant? For my own part, I conſider the Orangemen to be the party principally

bound

bound to oppoſe this threatened Union, and I moſt ardently hope that all deſcriptions, religious and political, will join in endeavouring to prevent a meaſure which will *injure each, and benefit none.* That there muſt be, in a land ſo populous as this, ſome villains who would wiſh to enrich themſelves by the deſtruction of their fellow-creatures, I am ready to admit; but I flatter myſelf for the honor of my beloved country, that thoſe monſters are only a ſmall number. This ſmall number, the noble author appears (in page 44) to claim as the "Britiſh colony," and I have no wiſh to diſpute with him the honor and advantage of their affinity. I am contented to reſign them to him, and to denominate the *remaining* inhabitants of Ireland "*native Iriſh*," and *my brethren.*

To you, my Catholic brethren, I addreſs myſelf in particular, intreating you to remark and remember that the noble author ſays, that "revenge "and the hope of prey, are your undiſguiſed mo- "tives; and you are only ſo far leſs abſurd or leſs "guilty than the coloniſt he has deſcribed, as you "believe yourſelves to have a right, according to "the laws of impreſcriptibility, to poſſeſs the lands, "which no time, no length of poſſeſſion can alien- "ate, no acquieſcence transfer; and you rely for "your hope of ſucceſs upon a Government, which "as it were from the very centre and focus of rob- "bery, adopts and aſſiſts every ſpecies of plunder, "every attack upon every poſſeſſion, every *inno-*

"*vation** of right, and principle, and law, and pro-
"perty." Behold, my brethren, the character given of you by an *authorized miniſterialiſt*—and will you not oppoſe to the utmoſt of your power, the pernicious meaſure which ſuch a perſon wiſhes, and exerts himſelf to recommend? Were there no other or better motive for your oppoſing this injurious project, I ſhould think this a ſufficient cauſe. Do not, my friends, allow yourſelves to be duped by *unclaimable* promiſes, or intimidated by falſe accuſations; do not ſuffer a feigned liberality, or an aſſumed benevolence, to impoſe on your underſtandings; and above all things, do not concur in the revival of invidious ſtigmas, and deſtroying prejudices.

I muſt aſſure the noble author, that amongſt his multitudinous miſtakes, none is more conſpicuous than that into which he has plunged, reſpecting the Roman Catholics of Ireland; amongſt whom thoſe who are capable of peruſing his elaborate performance, are in general infinitely ſuperior to him in liberality and knowledge of their native country; and thoſe who are in point of ignorance and bigotry, on a level with the noble author, have not been ſo fortunate as to receive the degree of education requiſite for enabling them to profit by his labours. The poor illiterate peaſant, who believes that he has a better chance of ſalvation by going to *Chapel* than to *Church*; who thinks the *Prieſt* a more holy man

* If this be true, *ſympathy* ſhould induce the Britiſh Miniſter to treat the Government here mentioned with ſome degree of tenderneſs.

than

than the *Parſon*, and cannot die in peace, unleſs *prepared by his clergy*—is utterly incapable of comprehending the eloquent and pathetic enumeration of miſeries produced and produceable, by the want of a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain. And the enlightened Catholic, who is above the meanneſs of bigotry, who approves of the good moral principles of all religions, and though attached to his own particular tenets, neither decries nor ridicules thoſe of his neighbour—is infinitely beyond the reach of the noble author's ingenuity. Another of this author's falſehoods, I muſt alſo point out, though I believe there are few among the Iriſh, and not many even in England, who will not know the aſſertion to be devoid of truth; I mean where he declares that the United Iriſhmen (or their Chiefs) "will accept of nothing but this very Catholic Republic, under the protection of the Atheiſt Republic." The noble author poſſeſſes a moſt capacious credulity, if he really believes either that a "Catholic Republic" was ever propoſed in Ireland, or that "an Atheiſt Republic" exiſts. The firſt I know to be falſe; the other I believe to be equally ſo. The noble author alſo miſtakes extremely, if he ſuppoſes that the lower claſs of Iriſh rebels were led away by any religious quixotiſm, or that their diſcontents proceeded from "the cruel power of artifice and deſign, upon the devout and agitated boſom of poor and honeſt ignorance, ſacrificing all "things, ſuffering all things, and daring all things "in the cauſe ſuppoſed of religion." The Iriſh peaſants are too acute for this ſpecies of impoſi-

tion, and the moſt enlightened amongſt them, thoſe leaſt acquainted with the cauſes of their inſurrection, would probably inform him that they "went with the boys, becauſe their neighbours *Pat*, and *Darby*, and *Shemos* went, and becauſe *if the boys got the better, they were to pay no tythes.*" In many places where the late rebellion aſſumed the appearance of a religious war (Great God! that religion ſhould be ſo mentioned!) the hatred viſible was to the Orangeman, not to the Proteſtant, or occaſionally to a Proteſtant, only becauſe he was ſuppoſed to be of the Orange party, who ſome years ago drove four thouſand Catholic families from their homes—a fact well known in every part of Ireland. The Orangemen were originally the Proteſtant mob of Armagh; the Defenders the Papiſt mob. Government feared their union, and conſidering the Orange party (from being ſuppoſed profeſſed friends to revolutionary principles) the moſt dangerous, adopted the method which has ſince been purſued, of protecting and countenancing them in oppoſition to the other party; by which means they have been rendered the dupes of deſigning men, who regard their welfare as little as the welfare of the Papiſt mob, to whom they would be ſacrificed in their turn, did Miniſters expect to derive any advantage from the change.

In general I diſapprove of introducing into publications like this the ſacred ſubject of religion, but I cannot on the preſent occaſion refrain from reminding the Catholic, the Proteſtant, the Preſbyterian, and every other ſect of Chriſtians, that two

of

of the principal maxims inculcated by the founder of their religion, are comprized in theſe two ſentences, "*Do unto others as you would that others ſhould do unto you,*" and "*A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.*"—Are theſe the principles of perſecuting ſectaries? Do theſe reſemble the tenets of political religioniſts?* Are theſe the axioms of miniſterial bigotry? No! my brethren, theſe are the principles of charity, of kindneſs, of brotherly love,—This is the religion of which ſo many talk, ſo few underſtand, and ſtill fewer practice.—This is the ſpirit of that faith, by which I ſhould wiſh to ſee every ſect of Iriſhmen influenced.—This is the religion which would render all good and all happy.—I will not "uſe hard words," and ſhall therefore overlook the acrimonious obſervations of the noble author, and avoid any enquiries into the true and original cauſes of the "foul, unrelenting, common mockery of both perſuaſions."

I do not underſtand what the noble author can mean by the "real, neceſſary, and indefeaſible dependance" of Ireland; nor can I diſcover why Ireland ſhould be thought more naturally dependant than other countries of the ſame dimenſions, poſſeſſing ſimilar advantages, and ſeparated by the *unbribeable* ocean from all other lands. I deny the neceſſity of her dependance, at the ſame time that

* Chriſtianity would fare never the worſe if its profeſſors were leſs politicians.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 130.

I perfectly

I perfectly agree in the propriety of her connexion with Great Britain, *while she finds it conducive to her advantage, or profitable to her interest.* In fact, *the only natural* bond of union between the two countries is that of *mutual interest*, and nothing but the continuance of this interest can preserve the connexion. The noble author tells us very candidly, "that the present order cannot last, and ought not to be re-established, arises out of the state dangers and *necessities of England herself.*" Can any thing more clearly elucidate the true inducements to this *beneficent* offer? Can any thing more plainly demonstrate that the *real* motive for endeavouring to procure this alteration at a time so improper, and under circumstances so unpromising, is that the resources of Ireland are necessary for the support of Great Britain; and as it is impossible to proceed in this destroying war, without the ruin of some part of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, the Minister prefers the destruction of Ireland *first?* If the people of England know their own interest, they will exert themselves in opposing a measure which deserves to be as unpopular with them, as it is amongst the Irish: for *unpopular* it is, and ever must be in this country, notwithstanding the assertions of ignorance, the declarations of corruption, and the unceasing efforts of place-men, pensioners, and borough merchants.

The noble author has taken infinite trouble to prove that the present connexion between Great Britain and Ireland cannot continue, but he has not contrived to demonstrate that any other connexion

between

between theſe nations would be more beneficial; and although the pains he has taken to ſhew us the miſeries, dangers, and diſadvantages of our preſent ſituation have perfectly ſucceeded, he has not been equally fortunate in convincing us of the neceſſity, the convenience, or the expediency of the proffered Union. I entirely agree with the noble author in thinking that *ſomething* * is neceſſary; but not an Union—A reform in parliament is neceſſary—Catholic emancipation is neceſſary—Modification of tythes is neceſſary—Concluſion of the war is neceſſary—Re-eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh conſtitution of 1688 is neceſſary—Repeal of a multiplicity of new penal laws is neceſſary—Many other things are neceſſary—But, a Legiſlative Union between the two iſlands, is *not* neceſſary—A Legiſlative Union will deſtroy the goodwill of the two nations towards each other—A Legiſlative Union will annihilate the influence of the people, and emancipate miniſters from the authority of the law. —In fine, a Legiſlative Union will place the whole power of government in the hands of a few gigantic deſpots †.

* The way to cure people of their fears, is not to frighten them farther, but to remove the cauſes of their fears. If the kingdom be diſaffected, let enquiry be made into the motives of that diſaffection.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 219.

When the cauſes of general diſcontent are removed, particular diſcontents will ſignify nothing. Page 220.

† It is the nature of power to be ever encroaching, and converting every extraordinary power, granted at particular times, and upon particular occaſions, into an ordinary power, to be uſed at all times, and where there is no occaſion; nor does it ever part willingly with any advantage.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 327.

It is abſurd to compare Scotland with Ireland.—Scotland and England make one iſland, in point of ſituation, commercial advantages, ſoil, and climate, the latter is ſuperior to the former. Ireland, on the contrary, in point of ſituation, climate, ſoil, and capabilities for trade, is equal (in ſome reſpects ſuperior) to England. I cannot perceive of what advantage it would be to Ireland to have a ſervile, artful, and ambitious native of this country purſuing his own intereſt in the Britiſh Cabinet, or how it would benefit this country to have him reproached with being an Iriſhman. Would this produce any commercial advantages to our cities? Would this occaſion any civilization in our provinces? Would the proſtituted talents of a ſelfiſh and crafty ſchemer redound to our honour or add to our proſperity? even though the influence of this Iriſhman in the Britiſh Cabinet were "the burden of Engliſh jealouſy, the theme of conſtant invective, and ſometimes of deep and ſerious accuſation." That England has often been accuſed "of injuſtice, unkindneſs, and prejudice againſt the united kingdom" of Scotland, a very ſlight inquiry will convince the noble author—but this is of no very material conſequence to Ireland.*

* As to the cant word of *Jacobin*; I find it as difficult to comprehend, as the noble author finds the word Ireland. One time the advocates for *rational liberty* are called by this name; another time it is beſtowed on the abetters of *the worſt of tyranny*. To-day, I am told that the friends of the *real* Britiſh Conſtitution are *Jacobins*; to-morrow, I ſhall hear this appellation given to the *partizans* of the *ferocious Roberſpiere*. In ſame places *anarchy* is called the work of *Jacobins*; in others, *reform* is delineated as their deed. As I know not in what light it may pleaſe the noble author to view this hacknied expreſſion, I refrain from replying to his remarks on the ſubject.

It is melancholy to talk of an Union by way of experiment. If the experiment ſhould prove detrimental, what is the remedy?——The catalogue of horrors which the noble author gives in pages 58 and 59, is almoſt the only part of his work which contains much truth; and how the Union is to remove all thoſe miſeries, is quite beyond the comprehenſion of my vulgar Iriſh underſtanding.

I think the noble author perfectly right in recommending the complete emancipation of the Catholics; and I ſincerely hope that the Parliament of Ireland will convince the world that they are not afraid of their Catholic brethren, and would rather ſhare political privileges with them, than be engulphed in the vortex of a Britiſh Senate. I deny that it is "more prudent and more natural for this independent Parliament to melt into the Imperial, than to receive the Catholic Parliament:" it is "more prudent, more natural," and far more expedient, to admit their Catholic brethren, men who are intereſted in the welfare of Ireland, with themſelves, and who will be doubly intereſted in it by ſuch an arrangement, to a participation of their Legiſlative rights, than to ſacrifice thoſe rights at the ſhrine of a Britiſh Miniſter, who has ever ſhewn an antipathy to their country, who has plunged the Britiſh dominions in all the horrors of war, and deluged the earth with blood. The Catholic enemy to the Union expects emancipation from the Parliament of his native country; and, after all that has been accorded to him within the laſt ten years, he is well warranted in expecting a farther extenſion of privileges. From the

British Parliament he has no reaſon to hope for ſimilar advantages, for if that Parliament would not grant emancipation to the handful of Engliſh Catholics, why ſhould we expect them to demonſtrate more liberality and kindneſs towards the multitude who profeſs that faith in Ireland? Again I muſt expreſs my ardent wiſhes, that the Catholics may not be intimidated by artful threatenings of ſuſpected diſloyalty; and I ſincerely hope the day will ſoon arrive when all invidious diſtinctions ſhall be deſtroyed; when "the United Iriſhmen" ſhall not "remain to be put down, or to be put out by the Colonial Parliament, or by the Imperial;" and when peace, happineſs, virtue, and proſperity ſhall again illumine Ireland.

June 30th, 1799.

THE END.

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE STATE OF

PUBLIC AFFAIRS,

IN THE YEAR MDCCXCIX.

IRELAND.

" Omnem equidem terram, sceptris quæ libera nostris
" Dissidet, externam reor, & sic dicere divos."

VIRG.

DUBLIN:

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1799.

ADVERTISEMENT.

ABOUT the middle of laſt year I had prepared for the preſs ſome reflexions upon the ſtate of Ireland, which at that time appeared to me very little known, or very ill underſtood in the public of this country.

Upon the firſt intimation of the project of a LEGISLATIVE UNION, I pauſed upon this deſign, the utility of which became in a conſiderable degree ſuperſeded by it; and I turned my attention in ſilence to the progreſs and ſucceſs of that great meaſure, to which it was impoſſible not to foreſee ſome of the principal obſtacles and motives of oppoſition. But it is but very lately that I perceived any advantage

in a public diſcuſſion of them, in the particular light in which they preſented themſelves to my view. The peculiar manner in which the offer of Union on the part of Great Britain has been received by the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, and the delicacy that conſtantly occurs in a free examination of the ſubject upon this ſide of the water, have determined me to make public the following Conſiderations. The truth of them, I flatter myſelf, will be felt where it is moſt uſeful: though, perhaps, under the preſent circumſtances, it could not ſo properly or ſo ſtrongly by inſiſted upon in any public or reſponſible quarter, as from the calm and privacy of the cloſet.

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CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

WHEN the great queſtion, which is the ſubject of the preſent Conſiderations, was firſt whiſpered in the world, it ſeemed to ſtrike upon the minds of men with a peculiar mixture of anxiety and delight, till it ſubſided for a time in a general ſuſpence and aſtoniſhment.

But this ſituation of the public ſentiment did not ariſe, as I apprehend, from the novelty or the magnitude of the meaſure, nor from any preſumption of a juſt oppoſition or rational diſlike on the part of Ireland, to ſo

happy and ſo glorious a termination as it held out to her crimes, her ſufferings, and her dangers.

The conſtant and earneſt declarations of the moſt oſtenſible perſons in that kingdom, of the perſons higheſt in ſituation and higheſt in popularity, entirely forbade and excluded that apprehenſion. They had loudly and repeatedly announced, "That things could not remain upon their preſent eſtabliſhment; that commercial jealouſy was rouſed; that it would increaſe with two independent Legiſlatures; that the ſeeds of ſeparation were ſown in the final ſettlement of 1782; that ſeparation of intereſts would bring on ſeparation of CONNEXION." The public opinion had kept in even tenor with the warnings of Iriſh ſtateſmen, and the ſenſe of practical evils, the dreadful courſe and career of calamities which every poſt divulged, and which advanced and expanded with progreſſive force

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and ſwiftneſs, till they bore off happineſs, and peace, and virtue, from that devoted land, had prepared the public from any meaſure of vigour and authority, as they had legitimated every act of vigilance and power.

Still leſs could the novelty of the propoſal have excited ſurprize. It had been ſpecifically recommended, in times comparatively fortunate, by the ableſt ſtateſmen, and political authorities, upon both ſides of the water: and in one period of her hiſtory it had been ſolicited by Ireland herſelf. But it was the peculiar character and quality of the remedy, compared with the exceſs and virulence of the evil; it was the novelty, not of the thing, but of the circumſtances to which it was adapted, and the greatneſs, not of the meaſure, but of the mind which dictated it, that created ſuſpence and aſtoniſhment.

That the local miſgovernment or misfortunes of Ireland, ſhould, inſtead of forfeitures

ures and penalties, be made to operate to her advantage and glory; that inſtead of a perpetual military government, and a trembling dependence upon the crown of England for a daily and precarious exiſtence, the parliament of Dublin ſhould be courted to take its ſeat in the capital of the empire, and mix and blend with the general repreſentation; that the Catholic ſhould be invited to a gradual participation of civil and political equality, and this in the midſt of the crimes of one and the weakneſs of the other, was juſtly entitled to admiration and applauſe—but that which tranſcendently filled and delighted the mind of every good and honourable perſon, was the dignified and conſcious purity of the policy of Great Britain, oppoſed to the perfidious practices and immorality of her enemies. After ſo many years of a war, in which they had reſpected no right, no law, nor principle of humanity; in which the repoſe and virtues, the enjoyments and endearments of ſocial life were the ob-

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jects of hoſtility, and ſucceſs but a new and advanced point of attack: in which ſhe had ſeen her people expoſed to every artifice of cool and cruel malignity; debauched, miſled, perverted; diſciplined in revolts, and familiarized with maſſacres; after ſhe had ſeen her ſtate, during ſeven years, aſſailed and mined by force and fraud, and the balance of Europe overthrown by violence and treachery; What was the meaſure of her retaliation and revenge? what was her ambition, and where did ſhe ſeek her relative aggrandizement? She turned her eyes not to conqueſts and equivalents, but to internal improvement, to the diſcovery and advancement of her own means and reſources, to the amelioration of her own condition, to the unity and conſolidation of her own ſtrength, to her own defence, proſperity, and power. In the midſt of warfare ſhe cultivated the arts of peace: ſhe repaired her own errors, recalled her people from ſeductions, and brought her diſtant

tant provinces under a nearer influence and inſpection; ſhe extended her arms to every part of her dominions, and preſſed her extremeſt dependencies to her boſom, while ſhe girt the mighty Whole together in one compreſſing chain, one common bond of intereſt, affection, and ſecurity.

Behold her equivalent! contemplate this augmentation of her power and greatneſs! examine her policy! probe her ambition to the quick!—mark if ſhe writhes or ſhrinks, if there be any tumour, or any foulneſs there! while the pretended deliverers of mankind prolong their polluted reign, and found their diſaſtrous hopes in the wounds and corruptions of humanity, in the diſeaſe and diſſolution of ſociety itſelf!

When men could withdraw their eyes from this object of honeſt exultation; and had turned their thought to the critical and

diſpaſſionate diſcuſſion of the ſubject itſelf, it ſeemed that the great meaſure of an incorporate Union between the two countries had naturally reſolved itſelf on the firſt aſpect into theſe important queſtions, by the ſolution of which, its fate would be decided—"Whether the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland were competent to treat for their conſtituents?" and "whether the treaty propoſed, were beneficial to the contracting parties?" But it appears to have been conſidered by the Houſe of Commons in Ireland in another and a very different point of view beſides that of it's utility, and this of their own competency and right to decide it. In that aſſembly, it did not lie between the advantages and relative intereſts of the two countries in the Union, which ſeemed virtually to be acknowledged, but it was ſuppoſed to contain ſomething humiliating to the pride and dignity of Ireland. It was not conſidered as an injury which England deſigned, but

an inſult which ſhe offered to a great and independent nation. With that feeling the Houſe very naturally refuſed to entertain it for a moment. With a juſt and becoming ſpirit they rejected the diſcuſſion at once; though by a meaſure ſo precipitate and unuſual, they doubtleſs incurred ſome imputation of diſreſpect to the crown, and of ingratitude to the parent-country.

It is neceſſary that this point ſhould be clearly and diſtinctly underſtood; and neceſſary to aſcertain whether the feelings of the Houſe of Commons were as juſt and proper as their conduct undoubtedly was while they were governed by them. For it would be ungenerous to ſuſpect of that Aſſembly, that they would have rejected with ſcorn, and refuſed to diſcuſs altogether, a great national meaſure recommended by their ſovereign, unleſs they had thought it on the one hand to imply ſome inſult and degradation to the

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nation they repreſent, and on the other to be ſo evidently advantageous to it, in an intereſted point of view, as to expoſe the people to the temptation and danger of overlooking the affront in the utility of the offer. Upon any other ſuppoſition it is impoſſible to account for ſo wide a departure from the eſtabliſhed rules and practice of a deliberating Aſſembly as the moving a previous queſtion upon a meſſage from the throne, and ſhutting the diſcuſſion *in limine* upon a ſubject of the very higheſt moment that ever came before them. For to take it the other way: if the offer was ſuppoſed to be diſadvantageous to Ireland, or unpopular to a great extent in the country, then it would have come certainly to be rejected upon diſcloſure and diſcuſſion; and that, with the double infamy and ſtigma deſerved both by the affront and and the injury; and the Houſe of Commons of Ireland could have had no motive for depriving the Britiſh miniſter of the full maſs of mortification that awaited him.

In that manner the ſame Aſſembly had acted in 1785 upon the occaſion of the commercial propoſitions. They ſaid that England ſold them commerce for conſtitution, and bartered her trade for their independence. This meaſure, therefore, after full and long debates, and minute inveſtigation and publicity, they refuſed with ſcorn, to the confuſion and diſappointment of its projector. But upon the preſent propoſition they were not ſo ſure of the ſenſe and high ſpirit of the public. They were fearful leſt the benefits propoſed by the union ſhould extinguiſh all ſenſe of the affront, and they wiſely and honeſtly withheld the temptation from the people.—I cannot but applaud the ſpirit and prudence of the Houſe as one who would never expoſe the people to ſuch a danger and temptation: as one who would not put it in their power to decide amiſs, nor comply with them if they did: as one who thinks the obſequiouſneſs of a government towards their fugitive and miſ-

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taken will, a ſpecies of the very worſt cowardice and treaſon, and the will of the people no excuſe for the compliance of a government in any diſaſtrous, or diſhonourable, or dangerous meaſure.

But while I applaud the conduct of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons under the impreſſion which governed them, I entertain very conſiderable doubts whether thoſe impreſſions were natural and juſt; and I think it very important to aſcertain that point, becauſe it is from that alone, that it is poſſible to combine or foreſee the fate of the propoſal. If theſe impreſſions were founded in right reaſon, there is no doubt but that that Aſſembly will perſevere in the courſe they have taken; but if they were the momentary effects of warmth and national irritability, we may expect from their good ſenſe and their virtue, ſuch a temperament, as will at leaſt admit

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the diſcuſſion, and collect the public ſentiment with regard to it.

It ſeems to me in the firſt place, that ſome of the prejudices which exiſt in Ireland againſt the incorporation, are real and honeſt prejudices; and that we may have contributed to create them ourſelves by fatal gifts, and flattering appellations. Whoever has attended to the courſe of public affairs and public opinion, muſt have found occaſion to remark the influence of a word or a phraſe upon the minds of men; and if we had from miſtaken tenderneſs to Ireland permitted lofty or endearing ſounds to charm her ear from the true knowledge of her ſtate, we ſhould doubtleſs partake whatever blame were due to the deluſion. If we had granted independence to the moſt wretched, ill-governed, and dependent colony upon the ſurface of the globe; if we had dignified with the name of Siſter-kingdom a ſettlement of Engliſh who had neither

neither ſubdued nor gained the country they inhabited: nor won by arms, nor tamed by wiſdom and generoſity the barbarous natives of the ſoil; ſhould we be totally exempt from the folly or the fault of the planter whoſe ideas we had bewildered and confuſed? It is impoſſible, without pity for the human mind, to conſider the abuſe of words and the miſchiefs that reſult from it. From this perverſion and uncertainty, ſometimes weak, and ſometimes malicious, flow as from their ſource thoſe horrors which appear more glaring from their folly: and crimes, whoſe worſt and moſt atrocious character is their mixture of abſurdity and guilt. While we have laviſhed theſe ſeducing names upon our colony, and ſoothed her into the fond belief of imperial greatneſs and equality, what are the kind and grateful epithets, what the fond and endearing blandiſhments ſhe pays us in return? The Siſter-kingdom calls us "Foreigners," and the independent ſtate makes a mighty merit of her preference for "Britiſh connexion." Foreigners

ers and Connexion! But we deſerve no better for we began the folly, and are the firſt deceivers. Foreigners and Connexion! Are we not their parent? Are they not our own blood? Are they not governed by our laws? Are they not defended by our ſword? Are they not maintained in their power, in their religion, in their conſtitution, in their lands, by the protecting arm and parental vigilance of England.

To ſuch an extent of prejudice does this fatal ambiguity or perverſion of terms prevail in whatever regards this deluded colony, that it is become impoſſible (unleſs we are merely ſpeaking geographically) to know what is meant by the word Ireland itſelf. We have occaſion for explanation or definitions at every turn. Sometimes it is the great majority of the people, ſometimes it is the ſettler; now it is the great population of the natives in arms, and now the independent colony trembling at its diſparity; here it is the repreſentative of a handful

handful of proteſtants; there the directory, and the catholic republic. Out of this confuſion it is indiſpenſable to collect ſome order, and to be able to convey and expreſs our meaning in diſtinct and poſitive language. I am unwilling to give offence any where, and am far from intending it; but I do not expect to probe theſe long and ulcerous ſores without giving pain; if I could, the gangrene has taken place, and there is no remedy but amputation.

It is painful, no doubt, to withdraw the eye from theſe ambitious dreams of federal crowns and independent ſenates, to ſend back through the ivory portal theſe flattering images of power and greatneſs, and preſent the bloody and diſguſting mirror of realities. But is it my fault if the Britiſh colony in Ireland cannot read its ſtate, or recollect its origin, or perceive its dangers? Am I to blame, if it ſleeps on the brink of ruin, or for awakening it?

Would God we lived in times when we might ſlumber on in delightful or tranquil viſions, when we might rock ourſelves to reſt with innocent flatteries and deluſions. We have been rouſed with a mighty peal, and have armed by the flaſhes of contiguous conflagrations. But if we cannot ſee the avenging power that overturns our gates, and the trident that ſhakes our foundations, we ſhall neither ſave our religion, nor our parents, nor our children; and exchange at beſt our deſtiny for an unprofitable and inglorious revenge!

The hiſtory of the Iriſh nation begins with the conqueſt of Ireland. All that precede is falſe or doubtful, obſcure or utterly unknown, a proverbial fable, forged to inſult the ſenſe and outrage the credulity of mankind. All uſeful knowledge of it is coeval with Engliſh "connexion." It is true this connexion was parentage with the colony and conqueſt with the natives. Hence followed a double

a double duty, of which it is to be for ever lamented that we have not acquitted ourſelves with equal juſtice; for conqueſt brings duties with it as well as colonization. We owed protection and encouragement to our ſettler, but inſtruction and the gradual amelioration of his condition to the native. Such in the beginning, after Henry the ſecond accepted the perjurable fealty of Ireland, and received the whole iſland into homage as a fief of his crown, was the pious policy of the time. The converſion of her barbarous hordes to chriſtianity, the reſtriction and ſubordination of her ſavage ariſtocracy of Sheiks and Beys, were the benefits that great prince conferred upon the Iriſh. If in ſucceſſive periods the progreſs of civiliſation has not kept peace with the advancement of the parent country, I think it more eſpecially to be attributed to the great impolicy of Henry the Eighth at the reformation, when the feuds of religious difference became ſuperadded to

the inextinguiſhable quarrel, and rendered the ſtate of the conquered and the ſettler more hoſtile and rancorous than in the moment of uſurpation. If the ſovereigns between him and his great predeceſſor are juſtly chargeable with omiſſion in neglecting the civilization or incorporation of the natives, the colony itſelf from that time is to be accuſed of that excluſive and ungenerous policy which has depreſſed and degraded the human character itſelf in the form of the native Iriſh; and if England is to be condemned, as ſhe juſtly may be, it is for her criminal indulgence to her colony, and her inactivity and inattention to the natives who were entitled to her protection.

But it is the more to be lamented that the crown of England ſhould have omitted to accompliſh or attempt the incorporation of Ireland before or at the period of the reformation: becauſe by that event it became in a great meaſure

meaſure impoſſible for the Britiſh colony itſelf to effect any thing favourable to the native, or to work with ſincerity for his improvement, and the advancement of his condition. They were placed at a wider diſtance; new barriers had ſprung up between them; and while the ſee of Rome, which had granted Ireland to a pious prince, never ceaſed to conteſt it with his heretic ſucceſſors, the colony had new dangers to provide againſt, or new injuries to revenge.

I am not preparing to ſhew the progreſs of theſe natural and religious diſſenſions, too legible in the worſt pages of our hiſtory, but it is an object of the greateſt conſequence to conſider it with unbiaſſed meditation, in order to determine this important queſtion with fidelity and preciſion, "Whether it be poſſible for the Britiſh colony to ameliorate the condition of the natives?" James the firſt ſeems, of all our princes, to be entitled to commen-

dation for his ſalutary efforts in that amiable work, but the liberality of ſucceeding times has been conſtantly overpowered and defeated by the obſtacles I have related.

It is certainly a matter very little to our honour in any point of view, that after a period of ſix hundred years ſo little progreſs ſhould have been made in the conciliation of the minds of the Iriſh, in the amelioration of their condition, or in their fuſion and intermixture with the colony. It cannot be without our own fault and reproach, that we have not effectually interfered in their favour, and compelled our plantation to a more juſt and enlightened policy with regard to them; and the accumulated rancour of ſo many centuries, now burſt at laſt upon their heads, will be a dreadful caution to other conquerors, how long they retain theſe odious diſtinctions, and defer the complete union and incorporation of their acquiſitions.

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It is the practice of our enemies to reproach this country with every evil and every accident that has ever befallen Ireland. But if ever their accuſations had been juſt, or they had ſought for any truth or any argument to ſupport them, they would have reproached us for our long delay, protraction and omiſſion, of this very meaſure of union which we are now accuſed by ſome of our coloniſts of preſenting premature and untimely to their independent parliament; it is our cruel indifference to the inſtruction and well-being of the native, and our obſequious tenderneſs to the ſettler; it is, that the "final ſettlement" of Ireland has been deferred through ſo many reigns; that we are *now* attempting that which ought to have been perfected by every prince, at leaſt ſince the reformation. It is that we have not incorporated; that we have not done our duty by the ſubjects we acquired; that we have ſuffered them to preſerve the memory of an original wrong, and to remain in a ſtate of igno-

ignorance, rudeneſs and barbariſm, worſe in its effects, and more degrading in its nature, than that in which our fathers found them ſix centuries before.

If we look to any part of the continent which has been conquered, inherited or acquired by any other ſtate, we ſhall not find the ſame impolicy, and I muſt add, the ſame cruelty as our own; for though I will never vindicate or adviſe meaſures of violence and injuſtice, I have no ſcruple to ſay that there is no violence more cruel than neglect, and no injuſtice equal to the cold continuance of the miſeries we found. Not that the meaſures we have purſued in Ireland have been always free from active violence and exceſſes; both Cromwell and William the Third made cruel retaliations upon the rebellious native, and exacted grievous forfeitures and confiſcations. If we were reproached for theſe deeds of theirs by the catholic and the attainted

tainted only, I would not complain of our accuſer, I would aſk alone if a century of of kindneſs, cannot efface our fathers' ſeverity? But when the grantees of Cromwell and the King, when the children of their ſoldiers, and the heirs of their rapacity reproach us with their own gains, when they accuſe us of their own crime, and array the ſpoil and plunder they have ſeized, amongſt the articles of our impeachment, I know not, I confeſs, with what temper to anſwer them, whether with ſcorn, or argument: nor whether their groſs abſurdity proceeds from the confuſion of their own underſtandings, or their contempt for our's? But let the crimes of centuries be blazoned out; let the annals of rancour and revenge be ranſacked, and the avarice and cruelty of theſe conquerors be dreſſed in all the colours of popular exaggeration, ſtill I think their crime of omiſſion was greater than their crime of commiſſion, and their cruelty in

not uniting Ireland, worſe than their cruelty of confiſcation. Cromwell, it is well known, would have united Holland, ſo that the policy could not have been unknown to him, and William had that occaſion and opportunity which have occurred after an hundred years, with the ſame crimes, and wickeder rebellions. Another century has found the ſame feuds, the ſame maſſacres, and the ſame untamed ferocity, the ſame unreclaimed barbarity in the Iriſh people; and it has fortunately found the ſame power and fortune of the Britiſh arms defending their conqueſt, and maintaining their colony. What is the reſult of all this experience, what the wiſdom we may learn in this dreadful ſchool?

Shall we ſuffer theſe evils to remain, and thrive, and ſpring up again? or lay the axe to the vivacious root which we have lopped ſo often, and to ſuch little purpoſe? Shall we profit

profit by the cruel leſſons of adverſity, or perſevere in this career of evils to new maſſacres and imperiſhable rebellions? Shall we perform that which we condemn every ſovereign and every adminiſtration for neglecting, or imitate their neglect in ſpite of our condemnation, and in ſpite of the unutterable calamities that ſtream from it.

That the native Iriſh ſhould retain their hoſtility, appears to me, I confeſs, under the circumſtances I have ſet down, more unwiſe than unnatural. That, remaining in the ſtate almoſt of their barbarous anceſtors, they ſhould retain their paſſions, and commit their exceſſes;—that they ſhould remember injuries which have never been effaced, and make continual claim upon lands from which they have been diſpoſſeſſed by uſurpers who have extinguiſhed their crime by no benefits, no aſſimilation, no adoption—that they ſhould complain of non-reſident landlords, and a chain of leaſes between the owner and the

the tenant of the ſoil;—that they ſhould repine at paying taxes to a colony they hate, and tithes to a clergy they abhor—and finally, that ſore with real wrongs, and intoxicated with viſions of liberty; deceived by foreign gold, and the artifices of domeſtic treaſon, they ſhould be goaded or guided into rebellion—I confeſs it appears to me both as natural and as imprudent as the empire of the paſſions uſually is found to be. But when I hear the colony itſelf complain of our yoke, and accuſe us of oppreſſions—when I hear the very perſons, guilty of all theſe wrongs, or for whoſe ſake they have been perpetrated, impeach us with their own crimes, and of our connivance, I proteſt I am at a loſs whether to attribute it to the ſuppoſed confuſion of their ideas, or to the perverſity of their heart. I have more indulgence for the catholic conſpirator, than for the proteſtant complaint; his principle is to be traced in the heart of man, and his motives lie deep in the very nature of his being. I know not

of

of any calamity or danger that has reached or threatened England, where his conduct has not been uniform and direct. Has there been a diſputed title, a pretender to the crown, a pſeudo-prince, or a rebellion? he has joined them all, as ſo many occaſions to aſſert his right, and throw off the tyranny of England. He is the ally of Perkin Warbeck, and of James the ſecond. From Henry the ſeventh to the king's illneſs, he has watched his opportunity of emancipation and revenge. It is *now* only that his conduct is become abſurd, when England offers union, and as the conſequence of it, emancipation: now that ſhe has at length adopted that liberal and enlightened policy which will place him upon the ſame footing as her colony, and admit him to the full participation of the bleſſings of her imperial, free, and equal conſtitution. It is wiſer, indeed, to become a Briton, than to nouriſh an eternal and unprofitable hoſtility. It is wiſer to be admitted into the ſovereignty, than to make war upon it. To unite, is wiſer than

than to tear open early wounds, and perſevere in interminable quarrels.

But if he prefers the dictates of his paſſions; if he is the dupe of prieſts, of foreigners, of political reformers, of parties and promiſers; if it requires ſtill other leſſons of calamity and freſh ablutions of blood to efface theſe revengeful hopes, and prepare a happier and more pious choice, I commiſerate his error, and feel indulgence for the powerful movement of his ſoul; I cheriſh, too, the flattering hope that it is the laſt conteſt, and that the iſſue of it will effect this very union, the neceſſity of which it will eſtabliſh, though too late for his own happineſs and the preſent ſalvation of his country.

From this miſerable and preponderant part of Ireland, I turn to that portion of it deſcended from our own loins, and nouriſhed with our own blood and treaſure: to that portion which is enthroned upon the necks of the great

great population of the country, and upheld in its dangerous pre-eminence by the power of the parent ſtate;—to that portion, our own grantees and coloniſts, who have forgotten their birth, and denied their name; who diſown the hand that enfeoffed them, and ſtill guards their title; which planted them on the ſoil, and maintains them there; which gave them power, and now gives them impunity. I turn to that portion of Ireland which muſt ſtand or fall with us in ſpite of its dreams of independence, which is united in ſpite of forms, and identified in defiance of parchments; which if our arm be withdrawn but a moment, will be trampled into the ground it uſurps, and which thinks it an indignity to be incorporated into our ſtate, and admitted to our empire.

We have read of a plant, the produce of I know not what fabulous iſland, the property of whoſe fruit it was to take away all memory of the native country, all gratitude, regret and

and deſire of it. But though our colony ſhould have fed on it to fullneſs, I think they might trace their origin in the hatred and antipathy of the natives, in their own ſufferings and dangers. I think they might read it in characters of their own blood, and by the light of their own conflagrations, I think the ſavage who tortures their cattle, who cuts down their woods, who beſieges their houſes, who waylays their ſteward and their proctor, who aſſaſſinates their witneſſes and their magiſtrates; I think he tells them at every ſtep that they are ENGLISH—I think the peaſant who brings his writ of right in arms againſt their property, tells them they are ENGLISH—I think in every crime, and every calamity, they are forbidden to forget that they are ENGLISH.

Had our colony been proſperous and ſecure—had it grown and flouriſhed under our ſhade till it were capable of empire and independence—could Mr. Foſter or Mr. Grattan

tell

tell us as that "the natives are ſubdued by their "kindneſs, and delighted with their yoke; that "the whole country is united and incorporated "within itſelf!—Could they ſay, we are in fact "independent of you and all the world—we "are independent of all farther ſupport and "aſſiſtance from you, we dread no rebellion, "we fear no army of "avengers," we rule in "peace, we reſide upon our lands, where we "bleſs and inſtruct our faithful tenantry; we "watch their education, we diſpel their igno-"rance, we command their affections by the "benefits we confer—to your armed empire "we have ſubſtituted the reign of gratitude; "our ſtate is adult and firm; we exiſt by our "own induſtry, by our own means and efforts, "and require no future aid or interference—"why do you come to interrupt our tranquil-"lity? to break our repoſe, to diſturb our per-"fect happineſs? have we invoked your aſſiſt-"ance? have we called out to you? have we con-"feſſed any weakneſs or diſorder in our ſtate? "have the native revolted? are we invaded by

 "foreign-

"foreigners!"—Had this been the caſe, and I could have heard a language like this, I have not ſo read the leſſon of America that I ſhould now be aſtoniſhed or affected by them. I have not ſo ſtudied the hiſtory of ungrateful proſperity, that I ſhould now be ſurpriſed at the power of the example and the repetition of the crime. But that the ſtern rugged nurſe ſhould breathe the ſame poiſonous counſels as the painted bawd; that wholeſome Adverſity and flattering Succeſs ſhould give the ſame treacherous advice,—I confeſs it confounds the very faculties and uſes of the mind.

Had our Iriſh colony been as happy and proſperous as our American—had ſhe enjoyed the ſame good fortune, and become as capable of independence, I ſtill do not ſee that with the experience of that event, it would have been wiſe and deſirable for her to have travelled in the ſame ſteps; and I think it very material to dwell a little upon this obſervation,

tion, becauſe there can be no manner of doubt but that this ſingle act of national ingratitude, has proved the ſignal of the diſſolution of the civilized world, that it has ſhaken every ſtate and every form of government to its centre, and looſened the foundations of ſociety itſelf. Unhappy England! There was no Cordelia amongſt all her daughters; Regan turned her from the door to the rude pelting of the pitileſs ſtorm, and Gonerill denies her hundred knights.

But it is not England that it is neceſſary to conſider; ſhe has triumphed, hitherto, over all her enemies and all her traitors, and over the worſt of all her thankleſs children. When I look to America, I diſtinguiſh the crime but not its utility; I ſee every thing but the profit of ingratitude. Is ſhe happier, or greater, ſince ſhe ceaſed to be a part of Britain? Are her taxes lighter? Is her commerce protected better? Is her government more reſpected or ſecure? While ſhe belonged to England,

what ſtranger dared oppreſs her? Who plundered her merchants, or inſulted her flag, or ſuborned her people? What Frenchman dictated to her councils? What impoſitions did ſhe lay upon her land? What diſunion—what diſſolution threatened her? Did ſhe live or linger then by the care of a declining hand? Did the frail tenure of an old man's life ſuſtain and compreſs her provinces together? Did ſhe hold the empire not by her ſtrength, but the approach of her weakneſs, and the expectation of a better opportunity to divide and diſmember her?—Oh, but ſhe is independent! ſhe enjoys the ſovereign rights and ſupreme arbitrement of empire; ſhe ſends ambaſſadors; ſhe levies armies; ſhe prepares fleets, and decides on peace and war. For theſe advantages, he is a feeble ſtateſman indeed, who will not pardon a little ambition, and a little ingratitude. Prove th n that theſe are advantages. I ſee her ambaſſadors inſulted or unheard, expelled or ranſomed; I ſee taxes raiſed to pay forces, but they are to conſtrain her own revolts:

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to defeat, not the armies, but the plots of foreigners. I ſee fleets, but ſhe dares not employ them. I ſee taxes and arms, but neither war nor peace. I ſee treaties, but it is with England, whom ſhe abandoned and abjured. I ſee that tutulary alliance, that maternal flag, protect the commerce for which America ſacrificed every moral duty, and ſo many political advantages. I ſee this cruel parent, whom ſhe deſerted and betrayed, maintain her among the nations, and uphold her periſhable ſtate amidſt the factions that prey upon her vitals.

America, however, had driven her ſavages behind her frontiers; ſhe had conquered and repelled the wild barbarian whom ſhe could not civilize. By the impolitic peace of 1763, we had delivered her from the neighbourhood and hoſtility of France, and ſhe demanded to be foris-familiated, like a proſperous child whoſe fortune has corrupted his heart. Has our ſettlement in Ireland even this excuſe?

excuſe? Is there any thing in common between the ſtate of theſe two colonies? In Ireland, the native prowls unconquered and untamed, confined within no pale, and forced behind no barrier—France is at her door and in her chamber—and while ſhe bellows "independence," ſhe is the prey of miſeries unknown and unheard of by the reſt of men; of crimes, for which the names are uninvented, of which the knowledge muſt be buried in dark eternal ſilence, where no ſound is heard, nor eye may penetrate, ſealed by diſguſt and horror, and guarded by the wounded dignity of humanity itſelf?

America, as it appears to me, I own, was happy and reſpectable, was fortunate and ſecure, when ſhe began her crime, and affected her independence. Her independence too was real and effectual. It was perfect in all its parts; ſhe abjured our crown as well as our legiſlature, and ſhe became a ſovereign by her ingratitude. Yet if I look at this

ſovereign

ſovereign ſtate, and all her dangers and diviſions—if I contemplate the peculiar evils of her conſtitution, admired I think by none of the wiſe and provident; and commended only by the ſpeculatiſt and the Jacobin as example of revolution and impunity—if I conſider her preſent ſtate, and the circumſtances upon which ſhe advances, I am ſcarcely to be reſtrained from affirming that there is nothing but union—this very meaſure of union and incorporation, of all her Provinces—that can ſave and defend her: or extricate her from the dangers and perplexities of that federal independence, which has neither defended Holland, nor Switzerland, nor the empire of Germany.

From the caſe of America, who has ſeperated, we are naturally led to that of Scotland, who has united herſelf with England; and I confeſs it appears to me not a little ſingular, that I ſhould have been ſo little anticipated upon one of the great and leading points

points of that argument; which does not appear to me to be half ſo intereſting, nor half ſo powerful from anology as from contraſt. The anology extends no farther than the probable conſequences of a parallel experiment—but the contraſt compriſes the whole general circumſtance and poſition of the two countries previous to the experiment; and the inference follows with accumulated and, I think, irreſiſtible force, in favour of the preſent meaſure; ſince experience has ſhewn, that under circumſtances of ſo unpromiſing a difference, that Union has ſtill proved fortunate, and ſurpaſſed the moſt ſanguine predictions of the great ſtateſmen, who were the authors of it. In the Scottiſh union, I am at a loſs to diſcover any circumſtances of reſemblance to the preſent meaſure, beſides the accidental union of the two crowns upon the ſame head. Was Scotland a colony of ours? Was Scotland planted and watered by our hand? Had it grown and flouriſhed under

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our protecting ſhade? Was the property of Scotland in the hands of Engliſhmen? Was the parliament elected by Engliſhmen, and compoſed of Engliſhmen to the excluſion of the antient occupants of the ſoil? Had the laws, the religion, the conſtitution, and the language and the ſtate, been tranſported thither from this parent country? From the firſt union of the crowns to the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, the legiſlative union had been a ſubject of deep deliberation. Scotland had to melt and blend with a nation of "foreigners," and with foreigners her antient, and, as it was then ſaid, her natural enemies. Her wounds were yet green and ſtiff: reciprocal hatreds, alternate triumphs, a frontier deſolated and famous from eternal warfare, and a hiſtory full of nothing but the injuries and invaſions of England, were but little propitious to this new and wiſe deſign. There was much to be forgotten or forgiven—natural jealouſies, old antipathies, national

pride and family reſentments, were all to be ſoothed and won over by the evident utility and advantage of the union. Scotland beſides poſſeſſed an actual and efficient independence; ſhe had a real ſovereignty to ſubſcribe and ſurrender to the united parliament; ſhe had a valuable conſideration to contribute for the wealth, the ſecurity, and the dignity ſhe received.

But is this the caſe of the Iriſh planter? is his independence real, or any thing but a dangerous and deluſive ſound, which tempts him to the rock, and draws him to the whirlpool? Is he independent of France, who pours her avengers upon the land? or independent of three millions of natives, who claim his eſtate with title-deeds and pikes? or independant of England, who defends him with her ſhips, her ſoldiers, and even her militia? Yet Scotland preferred to yield this real independance, ſo dear to her early prejudice. She preferred the ſubſtantial uſeful glory of a common

ſceptre

ſceptre and an imperial legiſlature, to the dull privilege of provincial greatneſs and municipal ambition. After centuries of cruel hoſtilities, fruitful of wretchedneſs and glory, ſhe ſubſided into her true and juſt poſition, and incorporated with her mighty neighbour, to whom fate and nature had awarded the ſeat of empire. Now then comes the queſtion of analogy. Has ſhe repented of her prudence, of her true and wiſe magnanimity? Is the Britiſh name leſs glorious than the Scots? Is population, is commerce, is internal peace, a motive for repentance? Are improvement, arts and civilization, or the well being of life, motives for repentance? Have we violated the treaty —have we impoſed tribute—have we abuſed our imperial power, or betrayed the confidence of the kingdom we united with? If all this experience is loſt and thrown away; if this analogy and contraſt are both ineffectual,

tual, I know not what argument can reach the deep rooted prejudice of Ireland.

If the offer of union therefore cannot be taken as an inſult to our colony; if America has not been much benefited by ſeperation; if Scotland has never charged us with breach of faith or partial exerciſe of dominion over her; if there be upon the face of the earth no condition more glorious, or more happy than that of Britons; and if to extend, participate, and fully communicate all the bleſſings we enjoy, be entitled to ſome commendation and to ſome return, it will not I truſt be too much to expect from the returning good ſenſe and temper of the majority of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, that the diſcuſſion may at leaſt be permitted of this meaſure; the principle of which appears to have ſo many claims to their gratitude.

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The queſtion of competency (if that is ſeriouſly a queſtion) is the next in order; and then the general utility and fairneſs of the meaſure itſelf. But it is not my intention, for the preſent at leaſt to examine the particular merit of every clauſe and condition, which can only be diſcuſſed with any beneficial effect, and I fear only with any candour, by commiſſioners on both ſides, who ſhall be already ſatisfied of the pure and honourable character of the proceeding of the competency of the two parliaments, and of the reciprocal advantage, dignity, and ſecurity, which it is their object to procure and confirm to both kingdoms.

As to the queſtion of competency, I ſhall add but one argument to thoſe which have been urged with ſuch reſiſtleſs energy on both ſides of the water and that, becauſe it is addreſſed to thoſe perſons whoſe fanciful and dangerous doctrines would unhinge the civi-

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lized world; who deny the power of ſtates and governments and legiſlatures, and would aſſemble in plains or foreſts upon every new caſe and occurrence, the population of an empire, to collect the votes of labourers and ſhepherds. I think the abſurdity of their opinion is merged and drowned in its depravity; the bitter malice and ſubtlety of their ſcheme ſwallows up its madneſs and impracticable folly. But I would aſk them upon their own principle, and accrding to their own reaſoning, what right the Britiſh Parliament poſſeſſed in 1782, without conſulting numerically the people of Britain, to ſurrender the ſovereign controul and ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature over their colony in Ireland? What right had Britain to abandon three millions of Catholics to the diſcretion of the colony, without the conſent of every ſhop and every cabin in the four provinces? I would aſk them what right the parliament of Ireland poſſeſſed in 1782, to accept that fatal

boon,

boon, without conſulting the people of Ireland in the ſame manner? Do they mean to ſay that parliaments are competent when themſelves approve their meaſures, and incompetent when they differ from them? Does the authority of the ſtate, and the exerciſe of the conſtitution, depend upon their approbation or concurrence? or is parliament competent to contract, and not to reſcind a contract—to bind, and not to looſen? Do they mean to ſay we had no authority to cede the colonies of America? or that we have no competence to ſever Ireland and abandon it France? they will not go this length. I know it, but their argument does; for it denies the validity of every legiſlative act, of every great national ſettlement, becauſe the votes of the multitude have not been collected *per capita.* It would neither leave order, government, nor authority in ſtates, nor peace between them; it would revoke into doubt and litigation every act, every

treaty,

treaty, and every principle, by which the conduct of nations has been governed or their misfortunes terminated.

If it is contended that parliaments are competent to procure advantage and general good, but not to part with or alienate them; I ſhall anſwer, that this is a begging of the queſtion; for we aſſert the union to be advantage and general good. But it is not only a begging of the queſtion, but a confuſion of the terms; for competency does not intend, nor conclude, nor reſpect wiſdom. An uſurper has made wiſe and wholeſome laws, and a legal prince abſurd and unjuſt ones: yet the competency is with the legal prince. For For competency depends upon a juſt authority, and not upon the the uſe of it. This is material for me to ſtate, who am preparing to ſhew, that the act of 1782, (the legality of which who doubts muſt, in my opinion, be very weak or very wicked) was an act very

our protecting ſhade? Was the property of Scotland in the hands of Engliſhmen? Was the parliament elected by Engliſhmen, and compoſed of Engliſhmen to the excluſion of the antient occupants of the ſoil? Had the laws, the religion, the conſtitution, and the language and the ſtate, been tranſported thither from this parent country? From the firſt union of the crowns to the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, the legiſlative union had been a ſubject of deep deliberation. Scotland had to melt and blend with a nation of "foreigners," and with foreigners her antient, and, as it was then ſaid, her natural enemies. Her wounds were yet green and ſtiff: reciprocal hatreds, alternate triumphs, a frontier deſolated and famous from eternal warfare, and a hiſtory full of nothing but the injuries and invaſions of England, were but little propitious to this new and wiſe deſign. There was much to be forgotten or forgiven — natural jealouſies, old antipathies, national

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baſeſt of intriguers, and conceded by the weakeſt of miniſters.

That this "final ſettlement," was impoſſible to laſt, and that it did not require the miſconduct of the colonial independent parliament upon ſubſequent events, to open men's eyes upon its abſurdity and danger, I am ready to admit; and if the injuſtice or folly of any meaſure could ſhake the competency of the act, I will admit that this might be invalidated for incompetency.

Fortunately, indeed, the independence of the Iriſh colony which it eſtabliſhed, as far as lay within its power, was a nullity and a cypher. But the dependence of the native upon the colony, it did fully create and eſtabliſh—an act of injuſtice, I am ſorry to ſay, which cannot be palliated by the general conduct of the colony towards him. An act

act which carried deſpair into the boſom of the catholics, and placed their only hope of emancipation upon the aſſiſtance of foreigners, and the misfortunes of this country.

It ſeems to be the faſhion, to under-rate the capacity and underſtanding of the Roman catholics of Ireland; but though the ignorance and bigotry of the lower claſſes of that perſuaſion are no doubt the cauſe of many exceſſes, and the inſtrument of all, I cannot diſcover that the leaders of it have ſo conducted themſelves, as that we ſhould contemn or look down upon their abilities with any conſcious pride of ſuperiority. They knew that an independent Iriſh parliament—they knew that the repreſentatives of a proteſtant colony, would not and could not dare to truſt the immenſe majority of their nation with an equality of political rights and condition. They ſaw that what they

looked for from the power and magnanimity of Britain, became hopeleſs from the hands of ſettlers, whoſe weakneſs made them jealous and afraid. They were too conſcious of their own ſtrength, and too fond of their title, to deſire or expect they ſhould be ever truſted by an uſurper, whoſe force they deſpiſed, and whoſe right they diſputed. They felt themſelves abandoned, and turned over to the generoſity of a handful of proprietors, who were too powerleſs, and too timid to be merciful: and if the independent parliament had been compelled to make the conceſſion, they would have been too ſenſible of the cauſe from which it ſprung; they would have called it fear and not liberality, and they would have ſeized the proffered boon, not as ſatisfaction and content, but as a ſtep in the ladder of their ambition, and an advanced poſt in the march of revenge!——

Such

Such I apprehend were the ſentiments of the catholic and the coloniſt towards each other, that there could not be a greater misfortune to the one, or injuſtice to the other, than the removal of that ſupremacy and controul of empire in Britain, which could alone reſpectively maintain and repreſs them. And if I were to contemplate the act of 1782 in no other point of view, and without relation to the internal ſtate of the colony itſelf, I ſhould not heſitate to condemn it, upon this account, as the moſt unjuſt as well as the moſt unwiſe upon the ſtatute book. I confeſs I ſee no means that are left us by that act while it remains in force, (and it cannot be reſcinded without the conſent of the Iriſh parliament,) of putting an end to thoſe calamities and crimes that have flowed from it, except in this meaſure of union alone. And if I could be brought to conſider it with leſs diſlike and averſion, it would be becauſe I regard it as having prepared and accelerated that happy and glorious

glorious event, by the evils it has accumulated, and by the legal facility it has created.

I ſhall ſhew, before I conclude theſe reflexions, what are the peculiar advantages it offers to the Roman catholic, and upon what motives, alone it appears poſſible for him to reject it; at preſent the courſe of my argument leads me to enquire whether the final ſettlement and independence of 1782, have been more favourable to the Britiſh colony than to the native population.

The perſons who are inclined to think or ſpeak moſt favorably of that act of "final" ſettlement, are thoſe who conſider it as an experiment upon the part of Britain, whether her colony, which had ſeldom conducted itſelf with wiſdom, prudence, or juſtice towards the native, being at length entruſted with the entire dominion of the country, and inveſted in the complete legiſlative authority, would be

be able or willing to deviſe any wiſer or more liberal meaſures for the general government of the people. But beſides that, it is difficult to connect the words *final* and *experiment*; it ſeems more natural, if we are to ſuppoſe any free conſent and foreſight at all, upon the part of England at the cloſe of the laſt diſaſtrous war, to ſuſpect that it was not intended, by the government at leaſt, to ſurrender the imperial rights of the parent country for ever; but to convince the ignorant ambition of the colony of their unfitneſs for empire, and to prepare, as has been already ſtated, their free and formal conſent to their incorporation; while in the mean time it took away from the independent colonial parliament all occaſion and pretext of charging the metropolitan country with any part of their own miſgovernment or inability to govern.

But even this hypotheſis, I confeſs, appears to me violent and improbable, becauſe all the real

real and effectual change that was operated in the colony by this pretended experiment in the gift of independence, was the mere ſubſtitution of influence in the room of prerogative, and of miniſterial favour for parliamentary controul. The dependance was not, nor could be changed; but the mode and application of the principle were adopted to a new and a worſe poſition, and transferred from the conſtitution to the treaſury. Dependence is the natural and the neceſſary order for every colony that ever was or can be planted, ſo long, at leaſt, as it requires the aid and protection of the parent country; and to give it the name and qualification of independence, while nature and neceſſity forbid the ſubſtance of the thing, is to betray and expoſe it to corruption, and all the baſe and little paſſions of avarice and left-handed ambition. Did the Iriſh colony receive nothing, then, by the act of 1782? Did we confer nothing by this high-ſound-

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ing term of independence? Unfortunately we gave a fatal boon, the kindneſs of which will be better conjectured than explained, when we conſider the preſent ſtate of the independent parliament! There are, or there were at the time when the union was firſt propoſed in the Houſe of Commons, one hundred and ſixteen placemen in that Aſſembly, whoſe complete number does not exceed three hundred. I will not comment upon this bluſhing text, nor will I ſearch into the red-book of the civil liſt of Ireland. I wiſh only to be underſtood, and I draw a veil over every thing that can diſguſt or inflame. The privilege obtained, therefore, was not to be independent, which was impoſſible, but the privilege to be paid for obedience, which was but too eaſy. Prerogative had diſappeared with the ſtatute of George the firſt, and corruption by the law-politic had taken its place. I withdraw my eyes from this filthy ſpectacle; I leave to others to detail a venal peerage,

and penſioned lubricity ; the Empire of the Cuſtom-houſe, and commiſſions in the army given for ſale to provoſts or to prieſts. But let the colony declare if this be the independence ſhe deſired in 1782 ? If theſe be the bleſſings ſhe aſpired to ? If this is the ſovereignty ſhe affected ?

The colony, however, gained other advantages from her independence, of which it is difficult to appreciate the extent and the value. She augmented the number of her abſentees by that portion of her wealthy and ambitious peers and commoners whom ſhe annually deputed to court promotion and emolument in the antichambers of the Treaſury, and the drawing-room of St. James's. She derived an addition to this mighty benefit by the deſpair and revolt of the catholic, which rendered reſidence altogether impoſſible, or converted every ſeat and every park in the iſland into a camp or a garriſon. Theſe were but trifling advantages,

however, of her independence, for it was a general, comprehenſive, and pervading power which detached, and looſened, and diſſolved the very cement of her civil ſtate. The tenant became independent of the landlord: the peaſant of the farmer; the child and the wife of the huſband; the individual of the laws, the multitude of the government. It tore the ſubject from the ſtate, from morals, from cuſtoms, from religion; it armed every ſect againſt each other; it invaded the country, and it ſtill invites and provokes invaſion.

Do I deny or palliate the participation of the Engliſh government in the corruptions of the colony? Neceſſity is a plea I will never ſuſtain for fraud or force, for tyranny or ſeduction. But it requires a very ſtern and rigid virtue to reject it altogether here, where the alternatives were ſo dangerous and ſo cruel; for the colony, as I have already ſhewn, by her own ingratitude and violence,

had extorted from her bleeding parent that Pandora gift; and she continued to abuse her fatal weakness with new demands, and even menaces. But the question is not here to impeach a delinquent, but to shew and prove the body of the crime. It is of the guilt, and not the guilty, that we are enquiring; but if we should fix the person, and deliver up the criminal, how can this "independent" Parliament proceed or prosecute? At what bar, and before what tribunal can it impeach him? Do you not see at every step, how visionary, how false and illusory is this fatal present? This independence which corrupts and cannot save, which betrays and cannot protect, which injures and cannot even avenge?

We hear now, indeed, but for the first time, and from those who, till now, have never ceased to deplore the wretchedness and calamities of the colony, that it has improved and thriven since her boasted acquisition of independence;

pendence; or as they affect to call it, in the language of commerce, inſtead of policy, ſince the diſſolution of the partnerſhip. But both their aſſertion and their term are falſe and ill-choſen; for it is eaſy to prove (and it has been proved beyond the power of replication) that ſhe has improved only where the partnerſhip remained and flouriſhed, and that ſhe has decayed and periſhed wherever the connexion has expired, or been ſuſpended. She has improved in induſtry and commerce, becauſe for theſe ſhe remained dependent upon the power, the tutelary care, and generoſity of England. She has thriven only in matters beyond the reach, control, and authority of her independent parliament, and there only, and preciſely ſo far as ſhe has been upheld by the providence and the purſe of England. Can her independent parliament prevent the legiſlature of Britain from repealing the duties ſhe impoſes upon foreign competiton, or the bounties ſhe grants on the re-exportation of Iriſh manufactures? or are theſe favours the

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gift of the parliament of Dublin? The cauſe, therefore, of this proſperity is not independence; and in her political ſtate, where indeed ſhe has diſſolved the partnerſhip, and become as independent as I have ſhewn, I ſhould not fear to aſk of Mr. Grattan himſelf, whether ſhe has improved there? if ſhe has—her folly has been proſperous; her corruptions and her miſgovernment have been wiſe and happy. Her promiſes and compromiſes with the catholic and the diſſenter, with emancipation and reform, have been prudent and juſt; her conſpiracies, her inſurrections, are fortunate and good. If ſhe has improved in her internal ſtate, it is becauſe rebellion and martial law are advantages, becauſe anarchy and murder are boons from heaven; becauſe rape and maſſacre, and pillage and fires, and deſolation are benefits and bleſſings to mankind!

Now I would aſk, if it be poſſible to deviſe a milder or a kinder remedy for all theſe evils (for

(for as ſuch I am perverſe and blind enough to conſider them) than that of union with the parent ſtate? With a ſtate, whoſe manners cannot fail to ſoften and civilize this wretched and exaſperated race? With a ſtate whoſe power can compreſs theſe factions; who has ſtrength to be generous, and courage to be juſt? The colony has learned in a bloody ſchool the vanity of her ambition; ſhe feels that ſhe is not, and cannot be independent of this ſuſtaining hand, which ſuccours and upholds her. Three millions of natives and catholics forbid it. And though there may be men of ferocious minds, who would exterminate the natives; though I have heard an atrocious policy avowed in the public councils, by which they were to be armed, and let looſe upon each other; though I have heard the offer of union condemned as a remedy inadequate to the evil, and the ſalvation of the few aſſerted to depend upon the extirpation of

the majority; that the catholics muſt be extinguiſhed, and put out; that not a ſingle Rohilla of them all can be left with impunity; though I have heard theſe ſanguinary doctrines pollute the walls of a Houſe of Parliament, I am ſatisfied they are confined to a very few breaſts not wickeder than they are weak. I think the Britiſh miniſtry are entitled to the higheſt praiſe for the candour and the loftineſs of their councils. I think the attempt is worthy of the great and generous nation over which they preſide; and as it appears to me impoſſible to reconcile the native and the ſettler without incorporating the whole, and adopting them both into the virtues, the moderation, and the magnanimity of Britain, I am deſirous of giving to this meaſure of theirs the fulleſt and moſt unqualified applauſe and approbation. Independence is out of the queſtion; it is of the forms of dependence that it is alone important to enquire, and if I knew of

any,

any, milder, more liberal, and more beneficial to Ireland than union is, that form of dependance I would prefer and offer for the government of our colony. For it is only when the colony and the natives are united and loſt in each other, that the Anglo-Iriſh will ceaſe to be dependent. It is then that they will fuſe and blend together with the empire at large, and become as independent as Scotland is, or Yorkſhire or Cornwall.

It is with conſiderable pain and diſguſt that I dwell upon thoſe obſtacles to the accompliſhment of this generous plan, which appear to me as the moſt powerful and effective in the minds of our own colony, and of the Roman catholics of Ireland. For as to the motives of the United Iriſhmen, it were abſurd in their oppoſition to ſeek for any, but their love of anarchy and confuſion, their project of pillage and revolution, and their devotedneſs to any cauſe and any power that

can protract the miſeries and convulſions of their country. To ſearch for political objects in the boſoms of conſpirators who have none but to prolong their crimes, and procraſtinate their puniſhment; who ſeek in revolt revolt only, and in evil evil, is to put men's reaſon to a harder taſk than is neceſſary or practicable with ſucceſs.

Certainly it would not be poſſible for any great part of the Britiſh ſettlers in Ireland to prefer their preſent ſtate of anxiety and ſuffering to the plan of union and incorporation that is held out to them, unleſs there lingered in their mind ſome hope or longing after another iſſue of their preſent difficulties and evils. It is the Jacobin of nature only, that delights in the continuation of the preſent wretchedneſs; but I am afraid there is a Jacobiniſm of policy, which induces ſome men to bear with or prolong evils ſuſceptible of an earlier termination, in the hope of more advan-

advantage to themſelves, or greater triumph in the iſſue. I confeſs I fear that there are amongſt our ſettlers in Ireland ſome unrelenting minds who expect and prefer another concluſion of the conteſt, and very different from ours; the horrible principle which has been diſcloſed even in England, induces me very ſtrongly to apprehend, that there is no obſtacle in a part of the colony more hoſtile and formidable to the projected UNION, than the hope of being enabled by the arms and treaſure of the mother-country to obtain ſuch decided and definitive ſucceſs in the civil war, as to enable their "Independent Parliament" to attaint and confiſcate the remaining part of the property of Ireland not actually in the occupation of that colony.

I know this ungenerous and ſanguinary ſentiment is partial and limited indeed; and I truſt the executive and paramount authority indefeaſible in England, tho' no longer

legally exiſting in its legiſlature, will never ſanction this atrocious and premeditated ſcheme of inſatiable avarice, and unneceſſary revenge. For it is abſolutely impoſſible to ſuggeſt upon what ground their private avarice can be recommended as a national and public ſcheme, or by what motives our colony will attempt to induce us to purchaſe for them through ſeas of guilt and blood, this cruel advantage, of treading out the native Iriſh, and becoming, in a very new and different ſenſe, "independent" of ourſelves. I confeſs I do not think they have ſo uſed the nominal and fictitious independence they enjoyed, as that by any ſound and rational policy we could be authorized to concede a more real and effective ſeparation.

If the only obſtacle to union in the boſom of our colony is this criminal and flagitious hope of deriving from our victories an unjuſt and miſerable ſucceſs of ſlavery and plunder,

plunder, I am fearful that it is impoſſible to aſſign, after every allowance for paſſion and for prejudice, a better or a more pardonable plea for the refuſal or the ſilence of the catholic. Revenge, and the hope of prey, are his undiſguiſed motives; and he is only ſo far leſs abſurd or leſs guilty than the coloniſt I have deſcribed, as he believes himſelf to have a right, according to the doctrines of impreſcriptibility, to poſſeſs the lands, which no time, no length of poſſeſſion can alienate, no acquieſcence transfer; and as he relies for his hope of ſucceſs upon a government, which as it were from the very center and focus of robbery, adopts and aſſiſts every ſyſtem, and every ſpecies of plunder, every attack upon every poſſeſſion, every innovation of right and principle, and law and property.

I think neither of theſe hopes will be crowned with ſucceſs, becauſe the Britiſh govern-

government will never eſpouſe the crime of the coloniſt, and becauſe the French directory will never be able to gratify the vengeance and the avarice of the catholic. The catholic republic may ſound well in the ears of inebriated rebels, whoſe crimes have cut them off from their country as long as it ſhall be adminiſtered under any form of government, under any order whatſoever. It may ſound well and lofty in the ears of ignorant and inflated conſpirators, and the abſurdity and ſoleciſm of the term itſelf may not be diſcovered by minds confounded by their terrors, and furious from their crimes.

The "*Catholic Republic?*" at another time I ſhould be tempted to aſk how a catholic republic could exiſt, or how could it be projected by men, who in all their dreams of innovation and reform have had no viſion of a preſbyterian monarchy, or a democratical nobility. The "*Catholic Republic?*" and what

what is to become of the hierarchy? what of divine right? what of indefeaſible ſucceſſion? But this abſurd and contradictory term may teach us ſomething; it betrays the meaſure of their capacity for whom it is deſigned; it ſhews how low, how ignorant, how obtuſe is the dupe, how mean the victim, the prieſts of anarchy prepare. A catholic republic! what? by the ſide, and under the wing of a republic of atheiſts? a catholic republic guaranteed by the ex-biſhop Talleyrand, and the doating theo-philanthropiſt Lepeau? What! will the titular biſhops of Ireland, will men of learning, humanity, and piety, do homage to the ſee of infidelity, and receive the ring and the croſier from the apoſtate Syeyes, or from Ali-Buonaparte? Do they not ſee this catholic republic is a republic of chairmen and fruit-pickers? That it is the deſpotiſm of ignorance and ſtrength, of brutal vices, and of numbers? That it is the downfall of all religion, and of all order

and

and gradation, the pillage of property, and the firſt half only of a revolution?

Surely the virtuous catholic will prefer even the exiſting order, and the exiſting oppreſſions, to this ſpecies of emancipation and liberty. He will not trample on the croſs of Chriſt, for a licence to trade in municipalities and departments; he will not deny or abjure his faith, to traffic in anarchy and republics; and he will rather try at leaſt this new and kinder order, this chriſtian union, by which he is called into the free privileges of an Engliſhman, and placed by the ſide of a ſiſter and a tolerating church.

It is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that a greater duty can ever be laid upon men, than what has now fallen upon the ſincere and enlightened catholic of Ireland. He has revenge and hopes of intereſt to ſacrifice in the cauſe of

of God and man; but revenge is almoſt ſatiated in ſeas of civil blood, and his hope of perſonal advantage, is the pillage of a wreck in which he runs the common danger—He has early prejudices to conquer; but adverſity is a great teacher, and the wholeſome leſſons of calamity ſtill vibrate on his ear—a great change is propounded to him, and he is called to the rights of citizenſhip, not by the deſperate cry of infidels and regicides, but by the free, ſpontaneous, and liberal voice of a great and chriſtian kingdom, ſpeaking his own language, governed by the ſame laws, having the ſame intereſts, the ſame mutual relations, the ſame endearing bonds, the ſame defence, and the ſame neceſſity—by a kingdom to which he is united by the natural order before the political, and by the diviſion of the globe itſelf, before the civil inventions and relations of ſociety.

His duty and his real intereſt, I think it cannot be denied, are evident upon the ſame ſide. His religion is not leſs threatened than the ſtate and property of the colony. Will he ſuffer the proteſtant to take the lead, and to do that for his temporal good, which he himſelf ſhall neglect or oppoſe, though for his eternal good? Will he delay to undeceive an ignorant population, that look up to him for inſtruction and example? Will he defer to unfurl the ſacred banner, and to call back the deluded rebel from the colours of Infidelity? Will he refuſe to tell him that he is deceived and miſled, and that the ſole danger he ought to apprehend to his religion, is from his infidel allies, from his impious confederates, the perſecutors of God and man, who have ſworn to extirpate it from the earth, and cruſh the croſs to duſt?

If

If any well-diſpoſed and enlightened Iriſh-man, of either religion, is averſe to the Union, I think it is incumbent upon him to ſhew, either that the preſent order of things is good and deſirable in itſelf, or elſe that it is capable of modification and amend-ment. But theſe are taſks I am confident no ſuch perſon will undertake; the firſt, becauſe the direct converſe is palpable and confeſſed; and the ſecond, becauſe the con-ſpirators themſelves have declared upon oath, and in contemplation of death, that no modification or change, no reform or emancipation, will ſatisfy or appeaſe them. Their fanaticiſm is of a higher order; they will accept of nothing but this very catholic republic, under the protection of the atheiſt republic; and to be a free and imperial part of a chriſtian empire, neither meets their devotion, nor gratifies their ambition.

Another reaſon why ſuch a perſon will not ſupport the argument of modification, is this: becauſe he knows the unhappy victims of the refined malice of republican atheiſm are led away, not by the hope or wiſh of reform or emancipation, but by ſuggeſtions that their religion is in danger; becauſe he knows the cruel power of artifice and deſign upon the devout and agitated boſom of poor and honeſt ignorance, ſacrificing all things, ſuffering all things, and daring all things in the cauſe ſuppoſed of religion.

I am not often tempted to uſe hard words; but if ever there was a deviliſh artifice on the earth; if ever there were any wickedneſs more near and natural to hell itſelf than other crimes and atrocities, it is this foul, unrelenting, common mockery of both perſuaſions, this cruel ſacrifice of chriſtian blood, by the inſtigation and malice of infidelity.

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It is the arming of religious ſects at the bidding of impiety; it is the maſſacre of chriſtians by the practice of atheiſts.

That this order therefore can never ſtand is made certain, by the hatreds it engenders, by the factions that attack it, by the conviction itſelf of its approaching fall. But that the precarious and partial connexion between the two iſlands cannot laſt upon the preſent footing, is not ſo clearly deducible, from the experience of the paſt, from the debates in Ireland upon war and peace, and the ſeparating policy of its parliament in the regency bills; as from the nature of the thing itſelf, and the real, neceſſary, and indefeaſible dependance of Ireland, in ſpite of the legal and formal independence. The preſent order is at war with the order of nature, and the law of neceſſity; and whether it ſhall be overthrown or not by a ſeparate regency, or by contradictory votes upon peace and war,

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it only exiſts at all by being conſtantly evaded, and in exact proportion to the violence it receives. In times of tranquillity, (if one might dream of thoſe) it muſt be tamed by corruption into the control and obedience of England: in war it muſt either partake of force in the dangers of England, or be ſubdued by her as her firſt and moſt dangerous enemy. It is ſuſpended altogether by the preſent divided ſtate, and the coloniſts having thrown themſelves into the arms of their parent country, for protection againſt France, and againſt the nation where they have ſettled, have fully proved how impoſſible is the reality of independence, and how dangerous the illuſion.

That the preſent order cannot laſt, and ought not to be re-eſtabliſhed, ariſes alſo out of the ſtate, dangers, and neceſſities of England herſelf. It is impoſſible for her to adopt as any part of a ſettled and permanent policy, the protection of her colony under the preſent

preſent circumſtances, and to affect to hold her up in every danger, commotion, and general inſurrection, to which this fatal ſyſtem expoſes her. It were better for England that her colony, and the whole iſland of Ireland were precipitated to the bottom of the ocean, than that they ſhould remain to her the charge, the danger, and the diſtraction they have been, in a war in which ſhe poſſeſſed no hope of eſcape or victory, no chance of ſalvation, but Unanimity. It were better Ireland were blotted from the map, and expunged from the liſt of nations, than that ſhe ſhould remain this diverſion of our power and force, this arſenal of attack and injury, this ſource of danger and annoyance, and this devouring gulph of our blood and reſources.

It reſults clearly, and beyond the power of equivocation to contradict or evade, that if the ſettlement of 1782 were final; if it were meant and deſigned not only, as I think it

was,

was, by the two parliaments who contracted, but by the miniſters who planned it, as a definitive ſettlement; I ſay, it reſults clearly in point of fact, that the miniſters and the parliaments have been deceived; that it has not proved what they intended; that it has not produced the effect they had in contemplation; and that they did one thing, while they ſtipulated another. Inſtead of a final ſettlement, they procured eternal feuds and rebellion—inſtead of independence, a corrupt dependence—inſtead of imperial identity, diſtinct regencies and contradictory titles in the crown itſelf, with diſcuſſions upon war and peace—inſtead of content, commotion—inſtead of order, treaſon—inſtead of gratitude and affection, and tranquillity, foreign counſels, bloody conſpiracies, and general inſurrection.

What then are theſe final contracts, which no [illegible]ake nor error, no repentance, nor experience

rience of ill can loofen or unbind? What are the grants, which neither deception in the giver, nor injury to the endowed, can defeat or avoid? Shall an improper grant of the crown be ſet aſide in the courts of law for want of the preſumed information in the ſovereign, and an act of ſtate, in which nations are deceived and miſled, be perpetual, in ſpite of experiment and remorſe? Are the people of Ireland maſſacred and ſtarved? Is England exhauſted, and expoſed to every wound of war and inſurrection, and yet we muſt ſtand to the condition? We muſt inherit, in ſpite of our own diſclaim; we muſt take unwilling, the benefit of the entail, and enjoy the fee-ſimple of our calamities? Would I break then the treaty we have ſigned? Would I violate the faith of Parliament? would I reſume the controul we have abandoned, and the independence to which we have ſubſcribed? I would *not* do it; becauſe we can do better, becauſe we can incorporate and ad-

mit Ireland into our own imperial ſtate; becauſe we can advance inſtead of receding; becauſe we can confer advantages, and privileges, and ſafety, and perfect liberty, inſtead of returning to the crude ſtate of colony and metropolis—becauſe, inſtead of dependence and protection, we can offer union and identity of power and ſtate; inſtead of inferiority, participation; inſtead of humiliation, glory. But would I do it in any caſe, and under any circumſtances? It is not left to do—it is done already by neceſſity, and the nature of things themſelves, which parchments cannot alter. But I would do it. By what law? By what right? Not for error, not for incompetence—but by that law which Heaven itſelf has ordained, that the ſafety of the people ſhould be the law ſupreme; by that eternal paramount authority, by which every lawful conſtitution, under every form and name of human ſociety, holds, at every moment, the full, abſolute, entire, and perfect

fect ſcvereign right, (with its correſpondent duty) to redreſs every evil, to provide for every emergency, to defend the people from every danger, and to ſuccour them under every calamity.

The more I examine the antient policy and conduct of England, with regard to Ireland, I beg leave to repeat it, the more kind and generous I find it towards the colony, and I think her only real reproach has been, neglect of the natives: even now, that the miſgovernment and misfortunes of the colony ſeem, perhaps, to call for acts of rigour, and forfeiture; what is the conduct of the parent ſtate, and what the language ſhe holds to her libertine? Does ſhe reſume her charters? Does ſhe cancel her grants? Does ſhe revoke the independence he has extorted from her, or place him in a ſtate of pupilage again? No. She entreats with maternal fondneſs to draw cloſer, for the common benefit and ſafety,

thoſe bonds, which have always knit them together in intereſt and affection. She deſires but to confirm and ſtrengthen that REAL UNION, which has always ſubſiſted between them, in ſpite of political names, and legal diſtinctions. She wiſhes to protect him ſtill, but with more efficacy and vigour, and to be able to extend her beneficience to three millions of wretched natives, whom he cannot oppreſs but with her arms, nor deliver but with his own ruin. But what are the terms of this protection, and what the price ſhe ſets upon her beneficience? Is it the ſurrender of territory? Is it taxation? Is it the abandonment of any good, or of any power? America complained that ſhe was taxed without repreſentation, but Ireland is invited to ſend an hundred commoners, and an equal proportion of her peers. But is not this number adequate and ſufficient? Scotland, with more than double the population of the colony (for the native is not yet repreſented at all) has never made this complaint.

plaint. She has never complained of any combination of the Engliſh majority to oppreſs her counties, or ſuſpected ſuch an injury, more than Yorkſhire or Cornwall. She has never complained that her people did not enjoy their full proportion of public office, emolument, and power, and of the favours and countenance of the crown. Her influence in the Britiſh cabinet, on the contrary, has been the burthen of Engliſh jealouſy, the theme of conſtant invective, and ſometimes, of deep and ſerious accuſation; But England has never been accuſed, by the blackeſt malice of irritated recrimination, of the leaſt injuſtice, unkindneſs, or prejudice, againſt the united kingdom. What juſt, or rather what poſſible reaſon is there for Ireland to apprehend, againſt the experience of a whole century? Were the thoughts of England hoſtile and deſigning, ſhe would not preſent this Union. She would ſay to her colony—You have abuſed and miſgoverned,

and

and are incapable to govern, and therefore your power is forfeited, and your right reverted;—you have been a bad maſter, I cancel your authority;—you have been a bad child, and I diſinherit you. This would be the language of the angry parent.—Let us liſten to her accents: "Let us govern together." Is that cruel, or oppreſſive, or unjuſt? "Come and take your ſeat in my council and my ſenate:" Is that hard or unnatural? "Come, and let us conſult together for the common cauſe in the imperial ſenate of both iſlands; depute your portion of wiſdom and virtue; take your ſhare in the general adminiſtration:" Is this partial, or excluſive, or ungenerous?

Is it ungenerous in England, to give this end to the local calamities of Ireland, and call

call her to the full participation of Britiſh bleſſings? Is it ungenerous to take her ſhare in the crimes, and accuſe herſelf of the miſgovernment of her colony? and inſtead of taxing it with ingratitude, to blame her own prepoſterous indulgence, and that fatal weakneſs, which miſled aud deceived it? which granted a boon it was not able to receive, and expoſed it to ſeductions and perils beyond its ſtrength to combat, or its power to repel? What is there in all this conduct injurous or over-bearing? Is there any inſult, as a part of the Parliament of Ireland thought, in offering the condition of Britons, and the participation of empire to our own colony? Is there any inſult or any injury in offering it to the deſcendants of thoſe natives, who have always been oppreſſed by our colony, and done homage to our crown? It is not a French incorporation, it is not a republican fraternity that Britain offers. She does

does not take their magiſtrates as hoſtages, nor impoſe contributions, nor drag away the youth of the kingdom in fetters and chains by military requiſitions. She does not enthrone mechanics and felons in the government, in order to govern it. She does not throw down the altars and erect impiety. She does not ordain licentiouſneſs and terror. What, I aſk of any honeſt coloniſt, what is it you are afraid of?—Of being independent, who have only the name and miſerable mockery of independance? of being in tranquillity, who are torn and tortured with civil wars and hoſtile invaſions? of ſeeing the condition of the catholic by degrees ameliorated and improved, who have no hope of a momentary reprieve and ſafety, but in granting him a complete emancipation? of ſeeing your abſentees encreaſe, whoſe troubles have cauſed an hoſt of emigration, which can never return into your boſom but with Union, and

as

as a conſequence of Union? of ſeeing your repreſentatives dependent upon the imperial cabinet of the united realms, who have now in your repreſentative body one hundred and ſixteen placemen, with threeſcore and ten aſpirants of the law, and with all this a factious ariſtocracy, which outweighs even your corruption? of ſeeing your induſtry and your trade decline, whoſe induſtry is turned to the forging of pikes and the lopping of trees, and the maiming of cattle, and the murdering of men, and who owe all your trade to Britiſh conſumption, and Britiſh bounties?

To the catholics of Ireland, I think Britain does not addreſs a leſs kind or leſs generous language. She does not tell them —"You are incorrigible rebels, whom no time can ſoften, no kindneſs can ſubdue:" but ſhe invites them to ſuch an order, as will

comport with kindneſs, and permit her without cruelty to her colony, to place them on the ſame footing with the beſt and faithfulleſt of her ſubjects: as will melt and obliterate all memory, and rancour, all invidious diſtinctions, all civil and political difference. Of the candid catholic, I will aſk once more if he expects emancipation, and a full participation of power and ſituation from the colony? If he expects it from the united monſters that deface his country, and have ſworn that they will not accept emancipation? If he expects the catholic republic from the atheiſt uſurpers of France, who have overthrown the religion and the republic of their own country, and overthrown every religion and every republic, wherever their crimes or their arms have led them?

If he expects emancipation from the parliament of Dublin, I will aſk him if a handful

handful of men can emancipate a multitude? If an armed regiment will liberate a diſarmed hoſt? It is a myſtery not very profound, that fear is a coward, that weakneſs cannot confide, and that injury never pardons. I will tell him plainly, the parliament of Ireland *dares* not to ſet him free. It is the imperial parliament, it is the power, greatneſs, and ſuperiority of England which alone can break his chains, or contain him in the firſt tranſports of liberty. It is the preponderance, the invulnerable greatneſs of England, which enables her to be generous, and permits her magnanimity. Will he refuſe the boon at the end of ſix centuries of calamity, of fruitleſs ſtruggles, and tenacious oppreſſion? Will he confirm and fortify the oath of reprieved or expiring traitors, that it is not liberty, but revenge, and plunder, and revolution, that he fights for? that it is the property and the blood of the Engliſh ſettler

for which he thirſts? Will he give this cruel right, this active cauſe of tyranny to the colony, after he has abjured the mercy and the interference of the metropolis?

Surely, for ourſelves at leaſt, it is more juſt and wiſe, that we ſhould aſſay to quench theſe interminable quarrels, and extinguiſh theſe ever-ſpringing evils, in UNION.—Surely, as an experiment alone, it is better, both for the ſettler and the native, than the prolongation of ſo many crimes and calamities.—I truſt it will be *tried*, before we decide once more to follow up our victorious arms with bills of confiſcation and attainder—I truſt it will be tried, and that the act of Union will be an act alſo of amneſty and forgiveneſs. Since it is clear, *de facto*, that our colony is ſtill dependent upon us, I truſt we ſhall not aid nor permit her to repeat thoſe acts with which ſhe has not

bluſhed

bluſhed to reproach us.—I truſt it will be tried, not only becauſe it is innocent and merciful, but becauſe it is politic and wiſe. For confiſcation has been too often tried, and it has failed too often; but union is a new and hopeful meaſure. In Scotland it has ſucceeded under other auſpices, and triumphed over other obſtacles. It was then a mere ſpeculation, but it now furniſhes experience: it was there choice, but here it is neceſſity. I ſay neceſſity, becauſe the alternative that remains is ſuch as nature ſickens at, as humanity rejects, as inſtinct flies from: becauſe it is rebellion, and military government; becauſe it is impriſonment, and torture, and ſudden execution; becauſe it armed proſecutors and juries of ſoldiers, with their ſerjeants learned in the law, becauſe it is the curfew, and the paſſport-bill; becauſe it is invaſion, maſſacre, and rape, and pillage, and conflagration; becauſe it is the wretcheſt and moſt degrading condition of humanity, the moſt diſguſting ſeries of miſery and guilt, the blackeſt and

moſt

moſt lengthened ſcene and proceſſion of crimes and ſufferings that ever humbled or afflicted man!

It has been ſaid, that the colonial parliament is able and reſolved to provide a remedy for all theſe evils: that they have turned their eyes at laſt to the barbariſm of the people, and to the defects and dangers of their conſtitution. That they have diſcuſſed a regency-bill, and are preparing a national inſtitute for the education of the people. But when have they done ſo? In March 1799. After they have rejected the Union, they are at leaſt ſenſible that ſomething is wanting to ſecure the Britiſh *connexion*, and to render the condition of the native tolerable. But are theſe remedies, or only confeſſions of the diſeaſe? what hope of a cure is there for him, who refuſes the ſpecific, and truſts his chronic to palliatives and delay? I wiſh to bring this point to the moſt direct and

and cleareſt iſſue. If the parliament of Dublin can emancipate the catholics, and thinks emancipation prudent and ſecure under the preſent precarious connexion with Great Britain; if the parliament of Dublin dares to admit the native to equal rights, and a participation of the independent legiſlature, then let them reject the Union, and try their own expedient. But I conſider every man who does reject it, to ſtand in this dilemma. Either he muſt declare for emancipation, or declare that he is contented with the preſent condition of his country. Either he muſt admit the immenſe majority of the Iriſh into the independent parliament, or he muſt prove, that the independent parliament is competent and able to govern the immenſe unrepreſented majority, and does govern it, with tranquillity, content, and ſucceſs. But is it not both more prudent and more natural, for this independent parliament to melt into the imperial, than to receive the Catholic par-

parliament? Is not its independence more likely to ſurvive its ſuſion with the parent ſtate, and in the arms and boſom of Great Britain, than when its doors are open to the Catholic majority, and its power divided with three millions of malcontents?

The Catholic enemy to the Union I imagine to ſtand in another dilemma of equal difficulty. He muſt declare that he expects ſomething better than emancipation, or that he expects emancipation from a different quarter. And though he ſhould be aſhamed to make this criminal confeſſion, it will not the leſs reſult from his ſilence and affected neutrality:—nay, it will not the leſs reſult from the denial, or the diſbelief of his own ſentiments. Unhappily for men, their paſſions keep ſecrets from their heart, or their heart dares not reveal, or ſubmit them to the examination of the mind.

After

After having diſcuſſed ſo minutely the motives, intereſts, and relative ſituation of the colony and the catholic, it might be liable to miſconſtruction if I were to take no further notice than I have done incidentally of thoſe clubs and conſpiracies, and of that inviſible empire exerciſed in Ireland by means of filiation and correſpondence, and ſecret oaths, more particularly as theſe treaſons and dangers have reached our own ſtate, and pervaded to the very heart and metropolis of the empire. Yet I think a little reflexion will ſuffice to ſhew, that they are not entitled to much conſideration in this place; and that in referring them to the general condition and calamity of Ireland, I have confined them to their proper ſituation and importance. For certainly the catholic and the colony, the native and the ſettler, are reſpectively entitled to our care and protection. They are the matter of legiſlation, and the objects of policy and juſtice; they com-

poſe the civil ſtate. To reconcile their intereſts, to adjuſt their differences, and to render them happy and contented with their condition, is the duty no leſs than it is the object of government. But what ſtate or form of government can admit of jacobiniſm as an element of its conſtitution? We blend democracy; we blend nobility; we blend monarchy. But to admit hoſtility to all government, and to every ſtate, to all power, and order, and authority, to every claſs and every form of the adminiſtration of human affairs, as a quality or component part of a regulated ſociety; or to admit the revolutionary principle as we admit and regulate the three powers of which our conſtitution is compounded, were of all errors the moſt fatal and unwiſe. I have, therefore, thrown it out altogether, and conſider it not as a limb, or part of the body politic, but as an ulcer and a plague. I think the jacobin will neither be contented nor ſubdued by the Union,

Union, nor in the defeat of the Union; but that he muſt be ſubdued by the execution of the laws, and hunted down by the magiſtrate wherever he is found. To offer him a government who is the ſworn enemy of governments; or a conſtitution, who hates all conſtitutions: to admit into the ſtate the common conſpirator againſt every inſtitution and every form, is to make peace with tygers, and treaties with Frenchmen. Whether, therefore, there ſhall be Union, or a prolongation of the preſent calamities, the United Iriſhmen will remain alike to be put down, or to be put out by the colonial parliament, or by the imperial.

In this point of view there is but one queſtion—Which is the moſt powerful and moſt likely to put him down? and as that, which I confeſs appears to me (under the preſent circumſtances of both countries, and of all countries in the world) to be paramount

mount and pre-eminent above every other, I addreſs it with confidence neither to the colony nor the catholic, but to both, and to every virtuous and reflecting mind of both perſuaſions, and in both kingdoms.

London, April,
1799.

FINIS.

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DEAN TUCKER's

ARGUMENTS

ON THE

PROPRIETY OF AN UNION

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

WRITTEN SOME YEARS SINCE,

AND

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

IN

THIS TRACT

UPON THE SAME SUBJECT.

BY THE REV. DR. CLARKE,

SECRETARY FOR THE LIBRARY, AND CHAPLAIN TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

[In this Work, the great Objections urged at a Meeting of the Iriſh Bar, are diſtinctly conſidered and confuted.]

" TROS TYRIUSQUE MIHI NULLO DISCRIMINE HABETUR."

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

PREFACE.

THE magnitude and importance of the commercial propoſitions in 1785, had led men to inveſtigate the poſitive and relative conditions of the ſiſter kingdoms, in order to underſtand the extent of that negociation.—This ſubject occaſioned much private inquiry and diſcuſſion between Dean Tucker and Dr. Clarke; and out of it aroſe the queſtion of an Incorporate Union. Dr. Clarke enjoyed at that period the conſtant ſociety of this able and excellent man; and now reflects on it as an honour and happineſs of his life. The common occurrences, however, of human affairs having ſeparated them, their intercourſe was afterward kept up by correſpondence: and the queſtion of an Union was ſtill diſcuſſed, until Dr. Clarke was too far removed from the ſcene of Britiſh Politics, and no where ſtationary for the regularity of communication upon ſuch topics. But the opinions, which had been urged by the Dean, upon a ſubject of ſuch magnitude, ſeem too valuable

valuable for oblivion at a moment ſo important as the preſent, and which this profound Politician had long foreſeen and often anticipated, in his diſcourſe. His arguments, therefore, without their meaning being marred, or their reaſoning weakened, but as they were drawn up himſelf, are, with permiſſion, ſubmitted to the Public, by Dr. Clarke. To his great and virtuous friend his debt of gratitude has been always large: his love and veneration will be endleſs.

UNION

OR

SEPARATION.

THE firſt civil compact took place between Britain and Ireland, at a moment when Government in the latter was the inſtrument of caprice, or the incentive of Rebellion. The policy however, under an *Imperial Union* formed by Henry II. was barbarouſly defective: it long excluded the Iriſh from the benefit of the Engliſh Laws. The ground was thus laid of a jealous, odious and diſgraceful diſtinction,* which has been kept up by ſucceeding circumſtances, and prevails down to this day. Accumulated misfortunes at this moment might be traced back to this unwiſe Policy under the *imperial*, and we may ſay, *Dependent Union*.

Another Union however aroſe between Geat Britain and Ireland upon a vaſt combination of cauſes, and a ſingular concurrence of events. In 1779, freedom of commerce was eſtabliſhed for Ireland: in 1782 her Legiſlative Dependency was formally renounced by the Parliament of Great Britain: and hence ſhe dates her *Federal* or *Free Union*.

Men however of ſound political experience beheld this meaſure with concern. Things were changed, but not corrected.

* Engliſhman and Proteſtant have but one term in the Iriſh Language.

rected. The conſequences were foreſeen by them and foretold. But what muſt now follow? The Imperial or Dependent Union proved defective; the Federal or Free Union has proved defective: there is therefore no reſource now left but a Real or Incorporative Union. That or Separation muſt enſue.

This is not the ſentence of a raſh judgment or an haſty moment: it is the deliberate opinion of a man, whoſe ability to combine cauſes and calculate effects, and whoſe honeſty to ſpeak out and foretel theſe effects, have rendered him Prophetic in the Political World. I may ſay this of him without ſuſpicion of flattery, and with deep ſorrow I may ſay it, for he will probably never know it. We ſhall never enjoy again the guidance of this great Luminary—he has cloſed with the hand of venerable age the book of Politics for ever.

Let us then liſten to the high authority of Dean Tucker on this queſtion of an Incorporative Union. We ſhall find three of the great Popular Objections, which the Patriots of Ireland are pleaſed to urge with a moſt deciſive tone againſt this meaſure diſtinctly conſidered and confuted by him.

Firſt: the Poverty of Ireland cannot bear the weight of thoſe Taxes, which the Riches of England enable her to ſuſtain with eaſe and comfort.

Secondly: in caſe of an Union, the greater number of Engliſh Members in ſuch an United Parliament compared with the few Iriſh, would enable England, when any competition ſhould ariſe between the two Countries, reſpecting Trade, Manufactures and Navigation, to favour England and oppreſs Ireland.

Thirdly: the money now ſpent in Ireland, by means of a Parliament held in Dublin, would in that caſe, be tranſported to England, to the great Enrichment of the one Country, and Impoveriſhment of the other.

Fourthly: that an Union tends ultimately to a Separation.

Fifthly:

Fifthly: that a Moral Aſſimilation with Britain, or an amelioration of the Manners of the People of Ireland may not be expected from the ſuppoſed Incorporation of the two Legiſlatures.

Theſe are the grand Objections ſo loudly inſiſted on; which we own are very popular, and therefore in ſome ſenſe formidable: but we cannot eſteem them ſolid. However let us examine them.

" * The firſt Poſition is, that the Poverty of Ireland cannot " bear the Weight of thoſe Taxes, which the Riches of " England enable her to ſuſtain with no great Difficulty, or " rather with much Eaſe.

" Now here, under the Expreſſions *Poverty* and *Riches*, " as applied comparatively to both Countries, a Fallacy is " concealed, of which probably ſome are not aware.

" In all States, Kingdoms or Countries whatſoever, and " more particularly in Ireland, the Poor are by far the greater " Number. Therefore the Queſtion comes to this: Are " the great Majority of the People of England ſo heavily and " oppreſſively taxed, as to ſuffer great Miſery on that Ac- " count? And were the Poor, that is, the ſtill greater " Majority of the People of Ireland to be ſubject to the like " Taxes, could they ſupport themſelves under ſuch a Weight? " To clear up this Point, let it be obſerved, that the Taxes " laid on the People of England, may be ſummed up under " the following Heads.

" 1. The Land-Tax, including likewiſe Houſe-Tax, and " thoſe on Windows.

" 2. The Cuſtom-Houſe Duties on the Importation of " foreign Produce, foreign Manufactures, and foreign " Luxuries.

" 3. The Exciſe on Articles of home conſumption, under " which Head, Salt may likewiſe be included.

" 4. The

* Note: All paſſages with inverted commas contain the arguments of Dean Tucker, drawn up in 1785, in anſwer to the objections then ſubmitted to him by Dr. Clarke.

"4. The new Duties on Coaches, Carriages, Horſes, "Servants, Hats," Dogs, Armorial-bearing, Powder, &c.

"5. The Stamp Duties, which of late have been ſo ex- "tended, as to comprehend a vaſt Variety of Articles.

"6. The Tax for defraying the Poſtage of Letters.

"7. The Poor-Tax in its different Branches.

"Now, let any one ſeriouſly conſider, which of theſe, "and whether any of them do really fall on the labouring "Poor of England, to any conſiderable Degree, unleſs it be "their own Fault? And whether the great Majority of the "Engliſh Nation has any juſt Cauſe to complain on that "Account?

"1ſt. As to the Land-Tax, and that on Houſes and "Windows, not only the menial Servants of both Sexes, "but alſo the Journey-men and Journey-women throughout "the Kingdom, the low Mechanics, the Fiſhermen and Sailors, "the Day-Labourers and Cottagers, are almoſt univerſally "excuſed. I do not enter into the Reaſons, which induce "the Aſſeſſors both in Town and Country, to omit them, "and thereby to excuſe this numerous Claſs from paying "Taxes: but I do aſſert this to be the Fact: for hardly any "of them are ever rated: and therefore they do not pay. "In ſome Inſtances the Laws themſelves excuſe them: and "in others a Connivance almoſt univerſally prevails.

"2. As to the Duties on the Importation of foreign "Goods, Manufactures, or Luxuries—I hope I may inſiſt "upon it without Offence, that the lower Claſs of People in "England may enjoy very comfortable good Food, decent "Raiment, and warm Dwellings (the three great Neceſ- "ſaries of Life) without paying a ſingle Tax for the Impor- "tation of any thing from abroad. Therefore if any of them "chooſe to indulge themſelves in ſuch Elegancies, or Luxu- "ries, as are brought from foreign Countries, they ought "to pay for their Prodigality: and have none to blame but "themſelves.

"3. The

"3. The exciſe is the next article to be conſidered. And "here it muſt be confeſſed, that in a few inſtances, and in "a very ſmall degree, even the frugal in the lower claſſes "may be taxed. The exciſe on malt, hops and cyder, "alſo on ſoap, candles and leather with the duty on ſalt, "muſt affect the moſt parſimonious among them in ſome "ſmall proportion. But were they to be content with a "moderate Quantity of Cyder, or one-way Beer,—and "were they to buy the other Articles at the beſt Hand, it "is not poſſible, that theſe Taxes (though the worſt of "any) could eſſentially hurt or impoveriſh them. As to "the heavy Tax on ſpirituous Liquors, this is ſo far from "being a real Grievance, that were it ſo high, as to amount "to an abſolute Prohibition (if that were poſſible) it would "be the greateſt Bleſſing, which could befall the common "People.

"As to the new Duties laid on Coaches, Carriages, "Horſes, Male Servants, fine Hats," armorial Bearings, Powder, &c. "theſe ſurely do not affect the labouring "Poor: for they are exempted by their very condition "from paying any of theſe Taxes.

"5. The like Obſervations may extend to the Stamp "Duties in all their Branches. Indeed, if the ignorant "Populace will buy Newſpapers, and commence Poli-"ticians, they are not to be pitied; for they ought to pay "for their folly.

"6. The tax on the poſtage of letters cannot materially "affect the poor, and even if it did, the poſt-tax is ſo much "cheaper than any other mode of conveyance, that it can-"not be made a matter of complaint.

"Laſtly, as to the tax for the maintenance of the poor, "burthenſome as it is here in England, this falls altogether "on the middling and higher ranks in ſociety, and not on "the loweſt, or the meaneſt.

"Upon

" Upon the whole, it evidently appears, even from this " brief ſurvey, that the majority of the Engliſh Nation, " [that is, male and female ſervants, low mechanics, jour- " neymen, fiſhermen, and ſailors, day-labourers, and all " kinds of cottagers, with their numerous families,] are " not heavily or oppreſſively taxed. And ſuppoſing that " ſimilar taxes were to be laid on Ireland, the poor of that " country would eſcape tax-free,* at leaſt according to their " preſent mode of living; for they uſe and conſume much " leſs Malt, Hops, and Cyder, leſs Salt, Soap, and Candles, " Leather, and Stamps, than the poor of England are " known to do. Therefore they have much leſs to pay.

" But, indeed, were an Union to take place, why ſhould " it be ſuppoſed that the taxes muſt be invariably the ſame? " They are not ſo in Scotland, nor can any reaſon be " aſſigned why they muſt be exactly the ſame in Ireland. " On the contrary, many regulations might be ſuggeſted, " eſpecially in regard to the land-tax, which would enrich " Ireland, inſtead of impoveriſhing it. For it can never be " too often repeated, that any tax, which promotes induſtry " and encourages a circulation of labour, enriches a country; " and any tax, which checks induſtry and ſtops labour, ne- " ceſſarily impoveriſhes the country in the ſame proportion. " This is the true touch-ſtone for diſcovering the merit or " demerit of any tax.

" Ireland is continually complaining that her trade is " *crampt*, and her people have not work; yet there are no " people

" * The claim of opening Parliament to Popiſh pretenſions is " ſaid to be a claim made on the right of three millions. Now of " theſe three millions, it is a known fact, that two millions, one " hundred thouſand are, by the late Hearth Money act, *excuſed* " *on account* of poverty *from paying* four-pence *a year each to the* " *State*."

Speech of Robert Johnſon, Eſq. Member for Hillſborough, before the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, May 24, 1795.—Dublin, Printed by Mercier.

" people under the ſun who take ſo much pains to cramp " her trade, and check her induſtry, as the Iriſh themſelves. " Were they to create an Yeomanry [and they alone * muſt " do it,] this very circumſtance would raiſe up ſuch a de- " mand for the conſumption of their internal produce, and " coarſe manufactures, as would give full employment to their " preſent *miſerable, lazy, ſtarving poor*, for ages to come. But " they unhappily expect a foreign trade, without an Home " conſumption; thereby graſping at the ſhadow, and let- " ting go the ſubſtance. They think it good policy to *keep* " *the*

* The great tracts of land that are given in leaſe, and divided by the Leſſee, to be ſub-divided by other Leſſees, until the Cottager is cruſhed by the number of thoſe, whom he has to ſupport above him, is a ſore and crying evil. It is hence that the lands in Ireland are let § higher, though they are purchaſed cheaper than in this country; while the Tenant does not receive as much for his produce; and even of the returns of this produce, he has by no means a portion equal to that of the Engliſh Tenant. Were the gentlemen of Ireland to adopt the plain principle of thoſe in England, by taking one-third of the produce of the land, and giving the remaining two-thirds to the Farmer for his profit and expences of cultivation; and if the lands were let ſolely to thoſe who occupy them, a yeomanry would ſoon ariſe valuable to all parties.

§ Mr. Arthur Young's opinion is, that if an allowance be made for the diſproportion between the Engliſh and Iriſh acre, and the difference of the currency (1s. 8d. in the pound) in both countries the lands of Ireland are not let higher than thoſe of England. There is a deference due to the inveſtigations of Mr. Young; and his opinion is juſt, if formed upon the rental received by the *owners in fee* of the lands of Ireland; for their rents are extremely low and moderate. Or if he has formed his calculation upon the rental of even the leſſees under the *owner in fee*, (many of whoſe tenures are for 999 years) it may perhaps be juſt. But if a calculation were formed upon the rental paid by the *cultivators* in Ireland (whoſe caſe we are here conſidering) and upon that paid by the ſame deſcription in England, it would be found after all allowances for ſize of acre and currency of money, that the lands of Ireland are let higher than thoſe of England. This is an opinion formed upon much enquiry and intercourſe with the two countries.

" *the maſs of their people ſo poor, and ſo deſtitute of the three* " *great neceſſaries of life, food, raiment, and dwelling*, [which, " by the by, are the foundation of all commerce whatever, " even the moſt brilliant and extenſive] that their *black* " *cattle are* almoſt, if not altogether, *as good cuſtomers to the* " *community*, and as much promote the trade of it, as the " peaſantry of Ireland—that is, in other words, as five- " ſixths, perhaps as nine-tenths of the maſs of the people."

This is a point which calls for peculiar conſideration, as one of the firſt importance, in theſe times. At every period, however, huſbandmen are of higher value to a ſtate than thoſe endowed with the ſharpeſt invention or moſt profound genius. But if induſtry be not animated by due remunerations, all the rich gifts of God and Nature to that Iſland are vain. As well might great portions of its land have remained buried in the chaos, or overwhelmed by the waters. Under incorporation, new repoſe and widely extended trade muſt ariſe, with a whole ſyſtem of induſtry, encouragement, and happineſs, bleſſing and exalting the nation. Incorporation is the angular ſtone of its greatneſs. Its natives, whoſe talent and induſtry are ſcattered over the earth, will no longer explore foreign climates or dangerous deſerts, if they be happy at home. Neither will foreign markets be ſo neceſſary for commerce, when there is through home induſtry an home * trade and good price for the commodities. The influence extending from this to the agricultural ſyſtem will put all theſe co-operating powers in motion, which tend to the population and proſperity of Ireland. For agriculture

* Perhaps a better criterion of the happy effects of induſtry can not be had than the home conſumption of Britain compared with its trade all over the globe. The profits of the *home* trade are calculated by Mr. Pitt at 28 millions: The profits on the foreign trade at but 12 ditto.

culture is not only the firſt and great ſource of wealth to a ſtate; but agriculture and population are like the ocean and the rivers which ſupply each other. Agriculture promotes population, by invigorating the bodies of men, and by furniſhing food for an increaſed progeny. And population promotes agriculture by the conſumption of the fruits of the earth. Agriculture gives *exiſtence* to the landed intereſt, population is its *ſupport*.

" Were a land-tax * of 100,000l. a year to be con-
" ſtantly levied on lands and houſes in Ireland, as in England:
" but were the *occupiers* of dwelling houſes in cities, towns,
" and villages, under the rent of three pounds a year, to be
" totally exempted; alſo every cottage or cabbin in the
" country, to which was annexed any quantity of land,
" not exceeding *half* an Iriſh acre, to be exempted like-
" wiſe; moreover, were every farm, not exceeding 50
" Iriſh acres [provided it had a *dwelling houſe*, upon it *in-*
" *habited* by the farmer, or owner himſelf,] to be taxed
" only three-pence annually for each acre; were every
" other farm, circumſtanced in the ſame manner, and not
" exceeding 100 Iriſh acres, to be taxed ſix-pence annually

 " for

" * The greateſt advantage attending the Engliſh land-tax is
" that it is not ſubject to fluctuations in the proportions to be
" obſerved. In which it widely differs from the land-taxes in
" France, which aroſe according to the improvement of land, or
" the advancement of rent. What the Proportions were on each
" county, city, or borough town in the reign of King William,
" the ſame proportions have remained to this day. Conſequently
" the ſum levied on each individual operates as a *quit rent* on his
" eſtate, to *ſpur* him on to improve it as much as he can; knowing
" that if he ſhould improve the eſtate ſo much as to double, or
" treble his rental, he ſhall pay no more; and were he to let the
" land run into an uncultivated wilderneſs, he ſhould pay no
" leſs. The great improvements of the landed eſtates in England,
" date their origin from this cauſe."

" for each acre; but were all other lands or farms of a " larger extent, or not ſo circumſtanced, to be rated to the " land-tax at two ſhillings per acre [unleſs they happened " to be barren rock, or inclaimable bog, not capable of im- " provement, or lands covered with woods, or coppices] " theſe few regulations would ſoon fill the Iriſh towns and " cities with induſtrious inhabitants, and the country with " laborious cottagers and working farmers; moſt of them " in eaſy circumſtances, and none too proud or too lazy for " their condition and ſtation in life.

" Another good circumſtance would naturally ariſe from " ſuch a plan. The preſent clamors for protecting duties " and prohibitory laws would ceaſe of courſe. Clamors " which betray a total ignorance of the true intereſt of that " country, becauſe Ireland ought always to excite an emu- " lation among her mechanics and manufacturers to excel " her rivals, inſtead of checking and preventing it by " monopolies, pains, and penalties. And above all, Ireland " ſhould never uſe ſuch a conduct towards other nations, " eſpecially towards the Engliſh, her beſt, and almoſt only " cuſtomers, as would provoke them to retaliate the injury " upon herſelf with redoubled vengeance. For were " England to lay the ſame duties on Iriſh linens, which ſhe " doth on German, and other foreign linens:—the whole " linen trade of Ireland, her only ſtaple manufacture, and " the ſource of all her wealth, would ſink to nothing.*

" The

* There have been 52,000,009 yards of linen exported in one year. Great Britain by her protection ſecures a monopoly of this branch to Ireland. In the Engliſh market Iriſh linens have an advantage of 31 per cent. over German linens, and receive a bounty of three-half-pence per yard on re-exportation; for all, whereof the value does not exceed eighteen-pence per yard.

Such

" The ſecond popular objection againſt an Union, is *that* " *the Engliſh and Scotch Members, in this ſuppoſed united Par-* " *liament, being ſo many more in number than the Iriſh, the* " *majority would conſpire againſt the minority, and out-vote them* " *on all occaſions of competition: ſo that Ireland would be op-* " *preſſed inſtead of being benefited.*

" Strange deluſion! which takes theſe things for granted, " that are both *improbable* in theory, and impracticable in " fact. The ſuppoſition is utterly improbable, that an " Union ſhould ever take place, without ſuch *Preliminaries* " *being ſettled*, as would prevent either of the contracting " parties from having the power to lay a greater burden of " taxes, or to put more reſtraints on trade, or to curtail any " of the liberties of the other party, beyond what the arti- " cles of Union ſhall authorize. An infraction of the terms " diſſolves the Union *ipſo facto*, and reſtores the injured " country to its former ſtate of independence.

" The like conſpiracy is equally *impracticable* in fact, be- " cauſe where there is no claſhing of intereſt, there can be " no competition either for *power** or *profit*. Thus, for " example,

Such are the advantages on the Linen Trade: let us now ſee what are the advantages on the general Trade between the two Countries.

In the year 1795 the Iriſh Imports, into the Port of London, amounted to	£. 2,209,501 3 4
Britiſh Manufacture exported from thence to Ireland	168,687 18 3
Balance of Trade in *favour of Ireland* from only one Port	2,040,813 5 1

N. B. The balance at Liverpool, where the Linens are chiefly imported, muſt be immenſe.

* The principle of this argument applies with no ſmall force to the Internal Parties of Ireland, in favor of an Incorporative Union.

" example, when Ireland ſhall be ſo united, as to form one " country with England, the power of the one will equally " become the power of the other. No man conſiders the " ſtrength of Yorkſhire, as in any degree ſeparate from, or " oppoſed to that of Devonſhire and Cornwall; though they " are much farther diſtant from each other, than England " and Ireland. For they both muſt ſtand, or fall, or riſe " together. And the caſe of Scotland affords a ſtill ſtronger " illuſtration.

" As to profit, or intereſt, the ſame ideas muſt recur.— " For, properly ſpeaking, no competition of intereſts can " have any effect on the Legiſlature, to make partial laws " on either ſide;—it being evident, that each country, and " each part of the iſland muſt enjoy their own peculiar ad- " vantages, natural, or artificial, without let or moleſtation. " At this inſtant, Yorkſhire is getting the cloathing trade " from the Weſt of England, by means of its ſuperior fruga- " lity, œconomy, mechanic ſkill, and induſtry. And what " will be the conſequence? Plainly this, that the Weſt muſt " adopt the like meaſures and police with the North, or de- " ſervedly ſuffer for their folly. But according to the notion " here broached, another mode might be adopted. York- " ſhire returns only thirty Members to Parliament; whereas " the ſeveral counties of Glouceſter, Wilts, Dorſet, and So- " merſet, much of the ſame extent with Yorkſhire, and all " united in one common monopolizing cauſe againſt it, re- " turn no leſs than eighty Members. Therefore poor York- " ſhire ought to be in a terrible fright, leſt this vaſt majority " in the Houſe of Commons ſhall enact reſtraining, or pro- " hibitory laws to cruſh the trade of the North, in order to " favour the manufactures of the Weſt?

" No: Yorkſhire is in no fright: and entertains no ſuch " apprehenſions: nor even Scotland: notwithſtanding this

" latter

" latter hath not a twelfth part or ſhare in the Legiſlature of " Britain. Yet all parts are ſafe, and will ever ſo remain: " for it is not in the power of the majority to hurt the mino- " rity in theſe reſpects. Such a ſcheme would defeat itſelf.

" The laſt objection, and perhaps the moſt popular of any " in the ſtreets of Dublin, is, *that were the Parliament in " Ireland to be removed to England, the money now ſpent in " Dublin would be loſt to that country, and gained to this.*

" Now this objection is built on a vulgar notion, which is " entirely falſe, that *money is riches.* Whereas induſtry and " frugality are the two riches of a ſtate: and money only the " ſign of them. Nay, if money becomes the ſign of riches " in one ſenſe, it may be an indication of poverty in another. " For the circulation of gold and ſilver, or the tranſferring " of theſe metals from hand to hand, is no otherwiſe uſeful " to a ſtate, than as it promotes the circulation of labour and " induſtry. Wherever it is not productive of this good effect, " the greateſt quantity of gold and ſilver is ſo far from being " beneficial to the community, that it is the greateſt detri- " ment. The Spaniards have experienced this to their coſt. " Hiſtory tells us, there was a time when Spain was full of " induſtry and manufactures. But when a Mode was intro- " duced of getting money without labour, by means of the " mines of Mexico and Peru, and by plundering and ſeizing " on the wealth of the defenceleſs Moors, and Jews, the " looms and all the apparatuſſes for carrying on extenſive " manufactures were laid aſide: and Spain ſoon became one of " the pooreſt, and worſt cultivated countries in the weſtern " world."

But there are ſtriking inſtances of this important truth, that *money is not riches,* within our own experience. For, wherever money is idly ſpent, the people are uniformly poor.—Amidſt all the ſplendor and brilliant extravagance of Verſailles,

ſailles, how relatively poor were its inhabitants to thoſe in commercial parts! Reflect alſo upon the Sovereign reſidences in Italy: look to Vienna, and Berlin: examine the poverty in Dreſden where the rich Saxon Elector holds his Court: What does the wealth of the Sovereign and Nobles of the two Electorates produce at Munich! Paſs to the reſidence of the inferior Sovereigns, where ſplendor and diſſipation predominate, and mark the effects! The ſeat of all proſperous manufactures, over the univerſe, is removed from the haunt of diſſipation.* Now paſs into Britain: and obſerve what immenſe ſums are ſpent weekly in dreſs, purſuits of pleaſure, prodigality, luxury of table, horſes, ſervants, gaming, &c. at Bath, by perhaps an average of 20,000 ſtrangers, beſides reſidents, in the ſeaſon. And are the people of Bath rich? Has any manufacture ſprung up there amidſt this ſplendid extravagance:—or what man would think of entering on ſuch† an undertaking? Yet nature ſeems to have deſtined this as a ſeat for manufacture: it has directed here a river in its courſe; whoſe banks are peculiarly adapted to the erection of mills; whoſe ſtreams are never exhauſted, but form a communication with the ſecond trading town in the Britiſh Empire.—And if Riches could accelerate ſucceſs, here is money, and votaries of pleaſure in crowds, to purchaſe the neceſſaries of vanity and oſtentation. But there is notwithſtanding no manufacture here, becauſe here no manufacture would proſper. Throughout all the iſland, at all the places of pleaſurable reſort

* Before diſſipation was ſo great or univerſal in Dublin, the Manufactures in that Quarter called the *Liberty* were extremely flouriſhing. But at this day what a ſcene does it preſent?

† On this principle the Citizens of London interfered againſt the Royalty Theatre being opened for Dramatic exhibitions. The whole town of Mancheſter ſome time ſince, had not a ſingle family within its walls, that were not the children of trade and occupation.

ſort and diſſipation, much money circulates, but the inhabitants remain poor.* "Indeed, even Ireland can afford a "confirmation of this important truth. For wherever mo- "ney is idly ſpent, as it always is in ſupporting horſe-races, "promoting amuſements and diverſions, &c. &c. the peo- "ple of ſuch places are always poor, on that account, and "never can thrive effectually, till theſe temptations are re- "moved out of their way.

"But ſtill it will be urged that during a Parliament- "Winter, great ſums are ſpent in Dublin, by the nobility "and gentry of Ireland, which would have been carried "out of the kingdom, were the Parliament removed.

Granted; that a part but not the whole of this would be transferred. But if the whole were transferred, it would be the removal of a detriment: for inaſmuch as diſſipation withers, manufactures muſt grow up: and further, as the Union produces ſecurity and repoſe, commerce muſt extend; and conſequently its advantages infinitely counterbalance all apparent loſſes: they in reality would prove gains.

"Beſide great ſums were once expended in Edinburgh, "when the Court was kept, and the Parliament held in "that metropolis. And what was the conſequence?— "Edinburgh was then a very poor place; but it is now a "great and wealthy city. Its trade and commerce, mer- "chants and manufacturers are in a more thriving ſtate than "ever they were during the time it was made the ſeat of "government and legiſlation. Whereas now its buildings "are not only more extended, but alſo are grand and ele- "gant. Therefore it may be fairly aſked, how is it that "ſuch great alterations have been brought to paſs? Plainly "thus:

* Compare the wealth of the inhabitants of Bath to that of the Briſtol merchants: yet Bath has had an infinitely longer run in its trade of diſſipation, than Briſtol in its commerce.

" thus: Edinburgh was poor, when devoted to pleaſures, " amuſements, and diverſions, (as Dublin is at preſent); but " on the removal of the Parliament, Edinburgh became the " ſeat of induſtry and manufactures."

But ſay the inhabitants of Dublin, in their ſhort-ſighted fears, the trade of the metropolis will be ruined, for commerce will transfer itſelf to the beſt harbours; Cork, Derry, Galway, and Belfaſt, will thrive; whereas Dublin muſt decline. How weak is the too great egotiſm of mankind! This cannot poſſibly be the caſe; and ſuppoſe it were, that a great bulk of the commerce flowed into thoſe ports, ſtill Dublin muſt thrive, and its trade extend Can the capital, or head of a nation droop and die, while the different members of the kingdom are increaſing the ſound ſources of civil life, and the whole body accumulating vigour? This dread is altogether abſurd. Dublin, being the ſeat of the Treaſury and National Bank, muſt ever be the centre of exchange, and being the centre of exchange for univerſal commerce, (which commerce muſt, under repoſe and ſecurity, extend to an incalculable degree), conſequently and incontrovertibly Dublin muſt become the ſcene of a proportionate and increaſed trade.

London is a proof of this. This metropolis is the ſeat of exchange for her trading towns with the commercial world. If money be due from Hamburgh to Mancheſter, it is paid in London: if it be due from York to Exeter, it paſſes through the medium of a bank in London. And the conſequence is before us in the extenſive trade of London. Beſide, a corroboration of this fact is found in the practice of Ireland itſelf. If orders go from England to Cork for proviſions to any amount, do the graziers take bills upon the commiſſary in England, whence the orders come, or upon a bank in London? Certainly upon neither; they muſt have

a bill

a bill upon Dublin. Therefore, it is obvious, that let the commerce of Ireland be extended in what manner it may, either in direction or in quantity, its influence muſt finally be felt, and be commenſurate in the Capital.

Moreover, a proof of the ill-founded fears in Dublin, as to its local loſſes in trade, ſuppoſing the Union to take place, appears in the fact of London, Briſtol, and Liverpool. For, how far ſuperior to theſe ports, are thoſe of Portſmouth, Plymouth, Milford-haven, &c. for commerce? Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe natural and extreme defects of London, Briſtol, &c. they have not loſt their trade. And why? Becauſe when once an eſtabliſhment, vaſt in its combination, and extenſive in its parts, has taken root, it is difficult to remove it. Its relations and its habitudes are its ſecurity. No ſituation can be worſe than that of London, as to every natural defect, for trade; but its artificial baſis has become too broad for its diſadvantages to overturn it. The inhabitants of Dublin therefore need not have ſuch fears for their loſs of trade. The Capital of a commercial nation is like the human heart, through which all the blood muſt flow: whether the nutrition, from which it has been formed, reſults from the operations of the hand, the head, or any other member. By whatever ports commerce enters into Ireland, Dublin muſt be the great ſeat of action. And what the difference is between the action of commerce and the action of diſſipation, may be ſeen in the vigorous animation on Ludgate-Hill, compared to the lounging in Bond-ſtreet, and the ſauntering at Bath.

" Much hath been ſaid by certain writers in praiſe of an " influx of money into a nation, *merely as ſuch*; without " conſidering what effect this money hath upon the com- " munity, whether to make men induſtrious, or to make " them idle. And it muſt be confeſſed, that traders in ge-

" neral are ſo narrow-ſighted as ſcarcely to entertain any " other idea of the *goodneſs* of trade, than as it may enable " them to accumulate more gold and ſilver than their neigh- " bours, and with leſs trouble. Then *that* trade is a good " one. Now, were this the true idea of a good trade, the " inhabitants of ancient Rome had the beſt in the world: " for their trade was to plunder all nations, and to ſhare " the ſpoil among themſelves. Yet we know from hiſ- " tory, that the maſs of the Roman people were poor and " indigent in an extreme degree. For they were not able " to borrow money for leſs than 12 per cent. per annum: " and they were not to be truſted, but from month to " month. Many other examples of the wretchedneſs and " poverty of this brave and bluſtering, but idle and extra- " vagant people, might be given.

" But waving all inſtances from antiquity, let us take a " view of things appertaining to our own times. The " county of Down, for inſtance, is allowed to be one of " the moſt induſtrious, and conſequently the richeſt in all " Ireland. Would you, therefore, in order to augment its " wealth, to encreaſe its induſtry, and to ſecure temperance, " ſobriety, and frugality among its manufacturers;—would- " you, I ſay, think it adviſable to remove the Parliament " from Dublin, and plant the Members of both Houſes in " groups in the manufacturing parts of the county of Down? " And what would be the effect of ſuch plantations?—The " application is obvious.

" Nevertheleſs, ſtrong and convincing as theſe reaſons " for an Union are, I do not depend on them for ſucceſs in " the preſent caſe.* For that man muſt be very ignorant " of human nature, who expects to ſubdue deep-rooted pre- " judice, merely by the force of reaſoning. *But there is a*

" *tide*

* Written October 19th, 1785.

" *tide in human affairs to which prejudice itſelf muſt yield,*
" *becauſe it cannot reſiſt it.*"

At this moment, if the good ſenſe of Ireland be not ſupreme, and all paſſion put down, ſhe may be loſt. It is an univerſal criſis of men and things. And no man can ſay upon what centre or baſis they will repoſe. Amidſt this general concuſſion, and the particular ſhock of Ireland, where is her ſafety? Is it in her own arms? Certainly not. " Non exercitus neque theſauri præſidia regni ſunt, verum " amici." (Sal.) As to the coloſſal power which tramples upon the globe, the more it ſhakes it, the ſooner it will fall. Amidſt the concuſſions of this moment it trembles. The party in Ireland which cries to it for protection, ſhould reflect! The other party in Ireland, which cries to England for protection, ſhould alſo reflect! This moment is big with the fate of both.

" The Americans and the Engliſh could not agree about " the very ſame points, on which the Iriſh and Engliſh " now differ. The Americans expected to enjoy all pro- " tection, and every kind of benefit, by their connexion " with England, but abſolutely refuſed to bear any part of " the common burden. For they declared ſuch a ſtipula- " tion to be a ſurrender of their *unalienable* rights. The " inevitable conſequence was either a ſeparation, or an " Union. Happily for England, an Union, on account of " the diſtance being impracticable, a total ſeparation ne- " ceſſarily took place.

" Reſpecting Ireland, one or other of the ſame confe- " quences muſt inevitably follow. For after tropes and " figures have been let off without number, after torrents " of eloquence have been poured forth, much paper blotted, " and much ink ſpilt,—RECOURSE MUST BE HAD AT " LAST, EITHER TO A SEPARATION,—OR TO AN " UNION.

" UNION. For plainly there is no *other alternative*;—
" *no other medium* to be diſcovered, or *cement* which can
" *laſt* for any length of time.

" Probably in the firſt onſet, and during the paroxyſm
" of the patriotic fit,—a total Separation may be reſolved
" upon, according to the unalienable doctrines of Locke
" and Molineux, Price and Prieſtley, and according to the
" pattern ſet by the Americans. In which caſe it will be
" the wiſdom and the intereſt of Great Britain to remain a
" ſpectator, as *unconcerned* as poſſible, by giving theſe miſ-
" guided zealots no manner of diſturbance in the proſecution
" of their wild ſcheme, but letting them feel their own in-
" ſignificance, by their ſmarting under the laſh of their
" own folly. This will much ſooner bring them to a juſt
" way of thinking, than any compulſive meaſures whatever.
" For, after having made the trial, they will gladly ac-
" cept of thoſe conditions and of ſuch an Union, as they
" had ſpurned at before with contempt and indignation.
" Therefore it is evident to any man, who will reaſon
" coolly on the natural courſe of human affairs, that the
" ſhorteſt and moſt direct road to an Union between Great
" Britain and Ireland, is firſt to let the hot-headed among
" the Iriſh nation both ſee, and *feel* what they ſhall get,
" or rather what they muſt infallibly loſe by their *favourite*
" *Independence*, and the neceſſary conſequence of it,—a
" SEPARATION."

Rather let Ireland ſoberly reflect, how Britain roſe, under the ſublime ſanction of her Government, through commerce, from nothing into ſomething, and from ſomething into greatneſs. For, ſhe who commands the ſea, commands commerce; ſhe who commands the commerce, commands the wealth; and ſhe who commands the wealth of the world,

muſt

muſt command the world itſelf. To an Union of this nature then Ireland is called. That or Separation is before her.

If Holland vanquiſhed Nature, though the four elements all combined warred againſt her, and roſe by commerce to opulence and power, what then may Ireland expect into whoſe lap Nature has poured a profuſion of her bleſſings? Give her but ſtability * and repoſe, under an Incorporative Union, and the dreams of avarice will not outſtrip her proſperity. What has the poor and barren Scotland done under the auſpices of an Union; and what ſhall not Ireland do, teeming with all the treaſures of the animal, vegetable and mineral † kingdoms: with ſuch ports, climates, ſoil, rivers, harbours, and poſition upon the globe: with an active, ſtrong, and robuſt race of men, quick in their perceptions and ſolid in their combinations? Conſtituted as Europe now is, power is manifeſtly in proportion to wealth, and wealth muſt ever be in proportion to commerce. Ireland therefore poſſeſſes the means of power to a degree that all the advantages of Nature can beſtow, or art may procure, if ſhe has ſecurity and peace. When theſe are eſtabliſhed by Incorporation with Britain, all the ſeas of the univerſe will be enriched by the burdens of her commerce, and her boſom be for ever cloſed againſt indigent idleneſs, indigent venality,

* The opulence of England will then promote the commerce and agriculture of Ireland.

† It is ſtated on the firſt authority that the mineral treaſures of Ireland are equal, if not beyond, thoſe of any other country in Europe. If ſecurity then be once eſtabliſhed, what may not the wealth of Engliſh companies dig out of theſe mines? Were it not wiſe in the Univerſity of Dublin, to make mineralogy a part of their ſyſtem of Education; that gentlemen might know the value of their property, or profeſſional men be brought up to nquire into it?

venality, indigent avarice and ambition, againſt indigence and rebellion.

Should it however be urged, that the value of property in and about Dublin muſt be diminiſhed by the decreaſe of population, or change of trade to other ports; firſt, we deny the poſition, as unfounded: and next, if the ground of the poſition were true, ſo much the better. But it is falſe on the clear views of trade which have been given before. It is falſe, becauſe the numbers which will be ſummoned* to attend the Britiſh Parliament will be comparatively inconſiderable to thoſe which will not be ſummoned. And it is falſe, becauſe, increaſed Commerce muſt give increaſed wealth and population, and conſequently increaſe the value of land and houſes about Dublin.

But, ſuppoſe that all this were not true, (and it were a ſuppoſition in the very teeth of truth,—but ſuppoſe, that part of the Commerce were to paſs to *Galway*, *Cork*, *Derry*, or *Belfaſt*. So much the better! Becauſe manufactures could be rendered more cheap, where there is leſs luxury and leſs population. This is the grand ſecret for ſucceſs, in commercial emulation: all the reſults of ſkill and capital are to produce cheapneſs, and enable the manufacturer to underſell others, in foreign markets. Again, it is ſo much the better,

* The number of Peers may be perhaps about 32. There are at preſent 41 Iriſh Nobles, who are Peers in Britain: and there are about 81 Iriſh Peers, reſidents in Britain—conſequently as out of theſe, ſeveral, if not moſt perhaps of the 32 Peers may be choſen, where will be the great diminution of reſident Peers in Ireland?—As to the Commons, the number may be about 100: Now it is a well-known fact, that the leading Commoners of Ireland ſpend a certain portion of each year in England, and more than may be neceſſary for the attendance on Parliament. It will therefore be in reality but a change of ſeaſon as to the time of abſence, as it is preſumed that they will, like all other Country Gentlemen, be glad to get their releaſe and betake themſelves to their demeſnes, domeſtic ſcenes, and rural amuſements.

better, from the convenience for external commerce. But on the contrary, ſuppoſe that there were not any of theſe advantages of cheapneſs and convenience to extend the ſcale of commerce: and ſuppoſe further, that the trade thus transferred would not increaſe, (which is impoſſible,) ſtill after all theſe ſuppoſitions againſt reaſon and againſt experience, we ſay that it matters not to the *Nation* at large, whether it receives its treaſures with the right or left hand. Or rather indeed it is a matter of much importance, that it ſhould accumulate opulence with two hands, rather than with one, and have the other withered. Dublin ſhould rejoice, if Ireland were to become a Briareus of Commerce.

Diffuſive happineſs, ariſing from general induſtry and wealth, is the greateſt bleſſing of a ſtate. Let not Dublin then realize the fable of the war of the members. An overgrown head is the emblem of diſeaſe, and uſually forebodes death. The ſkilful architect proportions his baſe to his capital. And no Statuary would weakly hope to ſupport the head of a Coloſſus upon the trunk of a Pigmy.

The views of ſound policy and true patriotiſm embrace the intereſt of an entire people, or a whole empire; and reject falſe calculations of individual or local advantage. But ſuppoſe that this maxim, which is an eternal truth, were falſe; and that the inhabitants of the capital were to be guided ſolely by ſelf-intereſt: Still in their purſuit of riches, it is not amidſt the diſſipations of the Great, nor amidſt the idleneſs and corruption of their trains during Parliament, that they will find them. It is amidſt flax and wool and workſhops. "To increaſe the riches of a kingdom," ſaid the celebrated Colbert, on a conſultation relative to commerce, "we muſt find out manufactures to give employ-"ment to the poor, and work to the idle. Flax, ſilk, and "wool are our objects." Through the medium of ſuch wealth,

wealth, luxury will not breathe its corrupt influence on the capital: inſtead of riot there will be decency, order, and opulence; inſtead of ſhops there will be ware-houſes. Diſſipation and immoral extravagance may, like whirlwinds, riſle one place to raiſe up heaps in another: but riches thus rapidly collected, are as rapidly diſſipated. Riches are in truth, a moral poiſon; yet like natural poiſons, which after paſſing through certain operations become not only medicine but wholeſome food, ſo do they become the ſupport of ſociety.—And beſide, if from gold, luxurious vices originate; from poverty, crimes are produced. But the ſpecific againſt both is honeſt induſtry.

To this teſt let all the oppoſition of the capital be brought, and the inhabitants will ſoon perceive, that if their Parliament Houſe could be converted into the ſeat of a New Manufacture, or ſhould it be transformed into a Woollen-hall like that of Leeds, the change would be advantageous and beneficial both to themſelves, and the nation at large.

It is commerce that has freed Kings from ſlavery and people from oppreſſion. If therefore the grounds of complaint, ſo ſtrongly urged by the aſſociation of united Iriſhmen, have, (which we do not admit) real exiſtence, commerce is an infallible remedy. And if they have not exiſtence, commerce is the ſource of glory, ſplendor, opulence, and happineſs.—For the acquiſition of all which, Incorporation is the Charter.

But will any of thoſe advantages be enjoyed without Incorporation? Separation follows, according to the authority of Dean Tucker; and according to arguments and conſiderations which will appear in their proper place. Since then one of thoſe two events muſt reſult, we ſhall lay before men no uncertain *Data* in the Documents of Commerce, where-

by

by they may calculate what they have to hope from British connexion and incorporation, and what they are to fear in its loss.

IRISH COMMERCE DURING THE LAST CENTURY, FROM 1698 TO 1798.

	£.	s. d.
In 1698 her balance of Commerce amounted to	400,000	0 0
In 1703, unable to support her Civil Establishment, the Commons laid her "*deplorable state*" before the Queen.	———	- -
From 1768 to 1779 the average balance	600,000	0 0
In 1779, *as in the year* 1703 (see Woodfall's Report of Mr. Burgh's speech in the Irish House of Commons, Aug. 12, 1785.)	———	- -
In 1785 Exports to Britain 2,500,000		
Imports from ditto 1,000,000		
Balance	1,500,000	0 0

[Here it should be remarked that these Irish Exports were admitted *duty free* into Britain: and that on every article of British import, a revenue was raised in Ireland. The consumption of Irish linens at this period was only 20 millions of yards, (it is *now* about 52,) and to favour this, Britain taxed herself annually 450,000l. she laid an heavy duty on Russian and German linens, and paid an advance price for the Irish ones. The consequence is before us in the immense increase of the linen

	£.	s.	d.
trade at this day. But her influence over the linen trade may be aſcertained from another fact of the ſame date, not leſs convincing, though alarming. In 1750 Ireland exported more ſail cloth than ſhe imported: but at that period Britain commenced a bounty on the export of their own ſail cloth. The conſequence was the total ruin of that manufacture. For in 1784 *none* was *exported* from Ireland, *and* 180,000 *yards annually imported.*]			
In 1795 Iriſh Imports into *one* Port, viz. London 2,209,501l. 3s. 4d.			
Britiſh Manufactures from Ireland to 168,687l. 18s. 4d.			
Balance from only one Port in favour of Ireland	2,040,813	5	0

In the year 1785 Iriſh linens brought in two millions annually to that country: but we perceive from the laſt ſtatement, that the balance from one ſingle port exceeded this amount by 40,813l. But we ſhall further ſee how through Engliſh ports, extenſive capitals, and dealings, the linens have found their way to foreign places to an immenſe amount: and ſo muſt it be with other fabrics. Such is the foſtering hand and participation of Britiſh commerce! From the following ſtatement laid before the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, and which ſhows the proſperity of the linen trade, an important leſſon may be learned by Ireland.

Iriſh Linens *exported* from England, in three quarters, to Oct. 10, 1797,	157,681	16	0
Ditto in three quarters, to Oct. 1798,	276,929	15	6
Increaſe			

Increaſe in three quarters, and *during the rebellion*	£.119,247 19 6
If we may calculate a fourth quarter on this ratio in order to make up a *year's increaſe*	29,811 19 10h
Total of *one year*'s increaſe during the Rebellion	£.149,059 19 4h

It appears alſo that a *century ſince* (1698) her balance of commerce with the WHOLE WORLD was *leſs* than *one fifth* what it now is with *one Port* in Britain: and that thirty years ſince, her balance of commerce with the *whole world* was about *one fourth* of what it now is with a *ſingle* Port in Britain. The application of thoſe facts to the *advantages* of Britiſh Commerce, to be increaſed through Incorporation or loſt through Separation, are obvious. Beſides, we ſhould conſider that England ſupplies* Ireland with ſalt, for fiſheries and proviſions: hops, that ſhe cannot grow: tin, that ſhe has not; bark, that ſhe cannot procure elſewhere: coals, without duty; though her own ſubjects pay two, three, and four ſhillings a chaldron duty for coals ſent coaſtways, and in London, ſeven ſhillings.

In the eſtabliſhment of all manufactures, and to which we look through the ſecurity of Incorporation, there are two leading objects. The firſt is, cheapneſs as to proviſion and labour, and that is in Ireland: the next is a near, ſure, and

* See Woodfall's Debate, Auguſt 12, 1785, in the Commons of Ireland, Chancellor of the Exchequer's ſpeech.

and extenſive market, and this is in England. Conſequently, with a good climate, equal natural powers, cheaper food, and lower labour, the ſkill and capital of England will find its way to Ireland, in order to ſell to England: and with ſuperior ſituation, and ports for commerce, the ſkill and capital of England will find its way to Ireland to ſell to, and underſell all the world.

Under Incorporation, commercial jealouſy muſt ſubſide, and each country forgetting rivalſhip, enjoy its own natural and artificial advantages, for their reſpective and united benefits. One nation will purſue that manufacture which it can fabricate with moſt profit; and buy from the other what it can render better and cheaper. The communication between their reſpective markets will be encouraged by a mutual preference; and conſolidated and united they will ſoon out-rival all the ſtrangers of the univerſe.

Commercial jealouſy has been too long irritating both countries. It has been increaſed, and political jealouſy has been rouſed by two Independent Legiſlatures. If the powers of the two nations, thus connected, yet jealous, be ſeparately employed for commercial and civil aggrandiſement, is it poſſible that their political Union muſt not be ſhocked? Separation of intereſt muſt inevitably occaſion ſeparation of connexion. Has it not nearly produced it at this day?

If we view for a moment the hiſtory of ſtates, we may ſafely ſay, on the analogy of facts, that Ireland muſt, in the wildeſt ſcheme of Republican freedom, ever be a connected ſtate. The plan of rebellious ſeparations demonſtrates this truth: for it looked to connexion with France. But nothing ſave human phrenzy, could have conceived or ſupported this extravagant purpoſe. Let the ſituation of Ireland internal and external be examined: where is there more

civil

civil freedom? where can men have ſuch advantages as to commerce and protection? For, protection, and powerful protection ſhe muſt have with ſuch internal weakneſs and ſuch a line of coaſt. Where then ſuch advantages, as to protection and commerce? Beſides, no country on the globe would connect with Ireland, but on terms of benefit, contribution and conceſſion. What nation upon earth then, would give, or could give ſuch protection or ſuch terms, as Britain? Let the map of the world be examined: Let the power of each empire be balanced: Let the intereſts of each ſtate be ſifted: Let the politics of all Europe be conſidered: and then let it be ſaid, if the *Commerce*, the *Conſtitution*, the *Religious* of Ireland could or can owe their ſafety, but to Britiſh connexion alone? That connexion indeed is an axiom in politics ſo ſelf-evident, that it is the fixed principle of the wiſe man, and the canting pretence of the cunning knave. But that connexion will not, cannot ſubſiſt with radical principles of ſeparation. For, the truth cannot be too often repeated, where there is *ſeparation* of *intereſt*, *ſeparation* of *connexion* muſt follow. Whereas, by Incorporation, ſecurity, freedom, opulence, and power are offered: far better than French Republics, or Utopian Directories.

But it may be aſked, why does Britain offer Incorporation, and ſuch participation of benefits—*timeo Danaos dona ferentes?* Moſt truly, on the principle of ſelf-intereſt; liberality is the wiſe man's egotiſm. The ſelf-intereſt of Britain is, at this day, underſtood to be inſeparable from the intereſt of Ireland: her ſtrength is Britain's ſtrength; her greatneſs Britain's glory. She offers Incorporation, becauſe ſhe is ſenſible of the advantage of the connexion. She is anxious to give ſecurity to Ireland, becauſe ſhe is thus

giving

giving* ſecurity to herſelf; becauſe Ireland ſupports her navigation; † ſupplies her commerce with raw materials in linen-yarn, woollen-yarn and hides; becauſe it gives her proviſions, money, ‖ men, ‡ and importance in the conſideration of Foreign Powers; becauſe it is for Britain, beyond the rampart of her rocks and the deep moat of the ocean, a citadel that ſhe can ſurround with her invincible walls.

Theſe are the important reaſons why ſhe would emboſom her in her bleſſings. Will Ireland then embrace them and unite, or will ſhe ſeparate?

Separated, Ireland muſt be at war or peace with Britain. Firſt: if ſhe be at war, and a tool in the hands of the enemies of Britain, the conſequence may be death to Britain if

* Had Britain an enemy in Ireland, and were ſhe thus ſituated between two hoſtile lines Eaſt and Weſt, what an extent of coaſt would ſhe have to guard againſt on both ſides and to protect at home? How would her commerce be endangered and hemmed in on every point? How would ſhe be expoſed to invaſion? The paſſage from Ireland requires but boats and a ſhort ſpace of time.

† The trade between Great Britain and Ireland, employs, as we have heard, about half the tonnage of Engliſh commerce in Europe.

‖ Beſides victualling the Navy, &c. Ireland is become a granary for England. It contains about ſeventeen million acres, which, though inferior in tillage, are ſuperior in nature to the lands in England. For, even in this ſtate, when they would require about 80 millions (or 5l. per acre) to bring them to the ſame degree of cultivation as thoſe in England, Mr. A. Young eſtimates their acreable rental to be equal. We have before ſaid that we believe this eſtimate to be under the reality; however, it gives twelve million 750 thouſand pounds per annum.

§ The population of Ireland is not ſo high as ſtated in the late examination before the Parliament in that country. This was but an opinion; whereas, it appears from the hearth money books, that it is beneath five millions, but above four; perhaps it may be midway between both.

if ſhe does not ſubdue Ireland. And if ſhe does ſubdue her: the doctrine of prevention, againſt a caſe recurring ſo awful in its effects, may enforce the total deſtruction of Ireland.

But next ſuppoſe Ireland not at war with England: then according to thoſe imperious dictates, which policy muſt preſcribe for Britain, and according to the principle of the balance of Power, Ireland muſt not throw herſelf into the ſcale of France. If it does, war is declared: and the reſults follow, which have been already ſtated.

But ſuppoſe that theſe reſults were not to follow: would the caſe of Ireland, united with France, be improved? It would then indeed wear chains. And though embelliſhed with a falſe name, would they be the lighter? If it looks for freedom in French fraternity, it is to be fooliſh beyond the privilege of paſſion. But if arguments, if facts, that the power of controverſy cannot change, may add weight to opinion, hear the French themſelves: judge them both by their words and actions.*

Suppoſe however that French fraternity were a kind embrace, and not a preſſure incompatible with exiſtence in wealth or independence—the ſuppoſition is however abſurd —but what would be the reſult?† "France would be rendered both the weaker and the poorer, by thus acquiring an Iſland ſo difficult to be governed, and ſo very expenſive to be maintained." Conſequently though Ireland began in peace, ſhe would be forced into war; though ſhe began in liberty ſhe would be forced into ſlavery: though ſhe began in dreams of wealth, ſhe would die in the pangs of poverty, blood, and civil abjection.

Again:

* See enumeration of the contributions, confiſcations, and requiſitions of the French Nation, with an account of the countries revolutionized ſince the commencement of the preſent war.

† Dean Tucker.

Again: ſuppoſe Ireland not at war but at peace with England, and in amity with France, or a Province of France, which ever is moſt pleaſing: even in this caſe, though Britain and Ireland be ſeparated, "* the courſe of trade will be ruled by intereſt and by no other motive. Therefore ſo long as the Engliſh market will be the moſt eligible, ſo long the Iriſh will give Great Britain the preference to other countries." And conſequently Britain will be ſure of the trade without the expence of protection.

But further; ſuppoſe the Engliſh were to reject them from their market—what then becomes of Ireland? Will America take all her linens? How blind are men who view objects through the medium of enthuſiaſm and paſſion! This however is at leaſt a period for common prudence and common experience to teach mankind. But will Ireland trade to France, when driven out from England? "It is impoſſible for her to trade with her to any advantage. For, ſhe muſt be a loſer in almoſt every article. She can ſend none of her manufactures into France, becauſe they are rendered much cheaper in that country. And ſhe can import nothing from thence, but what has a tendency to make her people idle inſtead of induſtrious."

Thus then ſtands the caſe of Ireland: on the deciſion of which the exiſtence of that ſtate depends, and in which the repoſe and ſecurity of the Britiſh Empire are deeply involved.

From this point Ireland is to aſcend or deſcend. Some change muſt, and will take place: and though it be not immediate, total ſeparation will inevitably enſue, if a real Union, or Incorporation of the Parliaments be not adopted. But by this meaſure will the Conſtitution be altered? No! all the eſſential good will be thus retained, and the contingent evil, which

* Dean Tucker.

which has been ſo loudly murmured againſt, got rid of. The complaints of one party againſt faction and its conſequences muſt ceaſe: and the complaints of the other againſt ſubverſion of the Conſtitution can be heard no more. The object is not to apply temporary palliatives to the one, nor to roughly amputate the newly-acquired powers of the other. Far otherwiſe! The Union proceeds upon radical principles, that its operation may be perpetual againſt diſorder. The preſent conflict has coſt his Majeſty 10 millions of money and 40,000 ſubjects in Ireland. Muſt not every man be protected againſt his ſhare in ſuch calamities: the high and eminent, and the low and humble? Should not both religions be ſnatched from a Revolutionary death? Muſt not all property be ſaved from Republican rapacity? And ſince we have but one Conſtitution and one King, ſhould we not have but one Senate, one ſword, one purſe, one proſperity, ſhould we not form one United and Imperial Britain?

Thus all parties will ſtand under a greater ſcale of protecting vigilance; and the abilities and virtues of none be ſtunted by the abſence of the Court. But while the Viceroy remains for all the wiſe celerity and diſpatch of Executive Government, the proportions of power, and the ſelection of merit, and the juſt pretenſions of all, will be fixed upon a broader and ſecurer baſis—the ſolid claims of virtue and of talents.

The fourth objection is,—*that an Incorporative Union tends ultimately to ſeparation.*

This aſſertion we deny. For, if the cauſes of ſeparation, that is, if the elements of diſcord be diſolved, all combinations for this purpoſe will ceaſe. And, that grounds of ſolid conciliation are contained in the meaſure of incorporation, we doubt not that the conflicting parties of this moment, will find, upon diſpaſſionate deliberation.

The one body of men conſiſts of thoſe who founded their purpoſes of ſeparation upon the *wrongs of Parliamentary factions*; we take their own ſtatements in order to convince them upon the ſame point of ſtrength, in which they have been pleaſed to place their motives. The other party conſiſts of thoſe men, who, rouſed at the meditated *ſubverſion of Government*, have been victorious in its preſervation.

Since, therefore, *Parliamentary* factions on one ſide, and annihilation of the Conſtitution on the other, form the grounds of complaint, a competent and ſpecific remedy for both will be found in the Incorporative Union. It is the vehicle of diſſolution for all the cauſes of ſeparation ſo loudly urged by the one; and conſequently for all the effects ſo juſtly dreaded by the other: to the one, it will give (inſtead of a party-government, or the rule of a Miniſterial Cabinet, as they ſtate it) the unparalleled bleſſings of a Britiſh Government; and, to the other, perfect ſecurity for the ſtability of this unequalled Government.—The Catholic will no longer have an ambitious and neighbouring zealot, as he calls the Iriſh Proteſtant, who is to rule over him; nor the Proteſtant have a bigotted and envious Catholic, as he terms him, to endanger his property or his power. But both ſects will be unalterably ſecure againſt each other in the very ſource and origin of their complaints.

The ſecurity of the Catholic is obvious in the total removal of the cauſes: and the Proteſtant may fully perceive his ſecurty in the effects, when rebellion can have neither beginning nor end: that is, when the Parliament, whether *complained* of as the *inſtrument*, or *viewed* as the *object* of ambition, be incorporated with the Britiſh Legiſlature. But, ſhould it ſtill be aſked, how will this incorporation of Parliament give more ſecurity than at preſent, againſt thoſe who

who really plot for *ſeparation*, and whoſe complaints are but a maſk? The anſwer is, that, when this Parliament is ſecured to one, and cannot injure the other by incorporation, then the *Empire* will decidedly protect itſelf againſt any branch or body, that ſhould riſe to violate the unqueſtionable bleſſings of its Conſtitution. Then, indeed, all complaints muſt be utterly vain; becauſe no juſt cauſe for them can ſubſiſt, and becauſe this will be known to the empire at large; whereas, at preſent, the knowledge with reſpect to Ireland, is really little, and that little much obſcured. It is but the loud burſt of exploſion, which is heard at a diſtance, but of which the cauſe cannot be ſeen nor examined.

But, ſuppoſe unfounded complaints ſhould ariſe, and arm for ſeparation, what would be the reſult?—The reply to this queſtion may alſo quiet the apprehenſion of ſome men, who ſtate that the Catholics do not now deſire legiſlative privilege; that, on the contrary, it ſerves them as a blind camp, which occupies attention while they ſeek ſucceſs in another quarter, in phyſical not legiſlative power. Let this be admitted: and the anſwer is, that, ſo long as the two nations are in reality ſeparated, (though nominally and apparently united,) inſtead of being incorporated in ſuch a manner that no part can be influenced without the other, ſo long their intereſts are evidently not the ſame, and their miſchiefs cannot be evidently and mutually felt. But if really incorporated, they then conſtitute one and the ſame point; they are then indiviſible in their dangers, and muſt riſe or fall together.—And herein is contained the ſtability of the Iriſh Conſtitution. The numbers to preſerve theſe bleſſings to themſelves will be as fourteen to three;—the numbers to deſtroy them are now three againſt one. Conſequently, it muſt appear from hence, that as by phyſical force

force ſecurity is eſtabliſhed—that as by the force of intereſt it is no leſs firmly eſtabliſhed; therefore, upon thoſe two principal and great grounds of force and intereſt, no ſeparation can follow.

Moreover—the Proteſtants, in general, ſtate (notwithſtanding the contrary opinion on the part of others as to the change of political tactics) that the addreſs of the Catholics not only *was* to get poſſeſſion of the Parliament—"for then, ſay they, equality of power and ſuperiority of numbers would have rendered them paramount"—but they ſtate, that this plan is *ſtill* perſevered in. Be it granted, then:—and what follows?—that the object of this ſcheme, if it be ſeparation, periſhes at the moment of Incorporation.

But, ſuppoſe that Incorporation ſhould not take place, and that the Catholics ſeek parliamentary power; their object either is, or is not ſeparation. If it be not ſeparation: is it a matter of much moment to the Government whether Catholics get into the Iriſh Parliament or not? If it be ſeparation: why, then, not terminate it by Incorporation? But, whether it be ſeparation, or otherwiſe; the Catholics either will or will not get into Parliament. So long as they do not, the legiſlative privilege will be ſought with more avidity and more diſcord, the more it is refuſed. And if it be gained, let thoſe, who reſiſt incorporation, pauſe upon their fears.

Further: let it be conſidered, that, if Incorporation takes place, and the Iriſh Catholics were to requeſt admiſſion into the Britiſh Parliament, one of two events muſt follow—either the requeſt would or would not be acceded to. But in both caſes, the fears of the Iriſh Proteſtants muſt ceaſe. For if the national voice, or the feelings of a Britiſh Parliament, were to ſilence the demand, the Proteſtants of Ireland could conſequently have nothing to dread. Or—if, on the contrary, the Britiſh Conſtitution were not found

found too ſtrong; and if ſuch an act were not an annihilation of its charters, but the Catholics were to be admitted into its Parliament; certainly, the Iriſh Proteſtant could not poſſibly have any objection: becauſe the inferior number of the Catholics, in ſuch an united Parliament, and the identity of conſtitution in both countries, would form the protection of Ireland, as well as of Britain; and becauſe the former could not be injured without the latter. Hence, therefore all idea of ſeparation vaniſhes.

Thus the one party, finding by Incorporation, ſecurity againſt the phyſical force or civil infringements of the other; and the other party finding, by Incorporation, like ſecurity againſt all factious oppreſſion, in whatever ſenſe or ſtrength they have thought proper to place it; we may, therefore, without charge of fancy, ſound the dirge of *Separation—requies ea certa laborum!* All parties will hence enjoy repoſe and ſecurity: and unqueſtionably this ſecurity and repoſe will throw open the improved commerce of the *univerſe*. Herein, then, periſh all thoughts of ſeparation; and the Conſtitution muſt live. Amidſt the golden glory of virtuous and active commerce, men will contemplate bleſſings beyond the dreams of fancied power, and liberty beyond the flights of Republicaniſm. Imperial ſtrength will then be found paramount to all parties in the ſtate,—paramount to all enemies over the globe. It is under ſuch important advantages of Incorporation, that men will become attached to the Government and to the ſtate: they will feel that they have a country; their firſt idea will be, ſecurity and imperial ſtrength; their ſecond, proſperity and national peace. And thus, the differens members coaleſcing into the amity of brethren—Will they exhibit a group tending ultimately to ſeparation?

Far

Far otherwiſe: but this great effect, ſo directly contrary to ſeparation, cannot be brought about without an Incorporative Union. And were it produced otherwiſe, which is utterly impoſſible under the exiſting circumſtances of Ireland, it would be unſtable and inſecure. Civil miſery and ſeparation muſt follow. Let us ſift this point.

As nearly as moral deductions can approach demonſtrative proof, we believe it may have appeared that the jarring conflicts of parties will ceaſe under incorporation. Whereas, it is manifeſt *already*, that without this Incorporation, the claims and diſcords of party ariſe with *new* vigour, and upon *new* grounds; and that conſequently tumultuary ſcenes menace an increaſe. Such then are the obvious effects of incorporation, and non-incorporation. Let us however, in order effectually to convince men that Union does not tend ultimately to ſeparation, but that the very reverſe of this propoſition is the caſe, give them the ſtrongeſt ground of argument, whereon they could combat, and ſtill they will be defeated.

Suppoſe therefore, that all theſe inteſtine ſtruggles and tumultuary commotions were to ſubſide, and that happineſs and virtue were to bleſs all ranks and conditions of men: that the upper and the lower orders had eſtabliſhed by wiſe regulations a civil ſyſtem cementing them in love and friendſhip; and that Catholics, and Proteſtants, and Diſſenters, all lived in the endearing amity of brethren.—A more complete ſyſtem of civil happineſs, we believe no man will require. But the queſtion, which follows this, is firſt, how long will it laſt? And next, if ſeparation were to enſue, may not ſeparated Ireland, thus eſtabliſhed upon a baſis of civil happineſs and moral virtue, laſt and enjoy herſelf long?

To

To anſwer theſe queſtions, we ſhall recur to experience and facts: for, opinions may be vague, or reſiſted however ſolid and concluſive.

Both ancient and modern times furniſh us with examples, that ſmall ſtates have not ſufficient force to inſure them *long life*. It was the caſe in Greece; it is the caſe in Switzerland, was in Genoa, and will probably be in all the New Republics. Societies, being compoſed of men, have the vices of men. Nations therefore are capable of ambition, hatred, and jealouſy; and where there are ſeeds for thoſe paſſions in ſeparate intereſts and purſuits, diviſion is manifeſt, and no NOMINAL UNION CAN HOLD OR LAST LONG. This being the caſe, and Ireland being ſeparated, its ſyſtem of complete happineſs, which we have ſuppoſed, would inſtantly be diſturbed; firſt, by the internal rivalry of individuals; and next by the external ambition of ſurrounding nations? The parties of Holland would ſoon be revived in Ireland, and contending nations make this *ſeparated happy* ſpot a ſcene of civil tumult, and perſonal animoſity? What a ſource of hatred would ſeparation open for Britain? What a ſource of war with France? What a ſcene of blood for Ireland? What a gulph of jealouſy would commerce form? And in this detached ſtate of Ireland, even thoſe *happy* individuals would ſoon, through their paſſions, enable the neighbouring power to profit of their diviſions, and make one ſwallow up the other. Or one of the great neighbouring powers of ſuch a ſtate, favoured by its ſtrength, or ſanctioned by its circumſtances, would mark it for an object of conqueſt, and terminate its hatred, its jealouſy, or ambition, in its ruin.

The monuments of hiſtory have preſerved for us the memory of thoſe times, when all Europe, Italy, the Gauls, the Spains, and Germany, were ſubdivided into a crowd of

ſmall

mall ſtates: we know how they finiſhed. England too was portioned out into ſmall ſtates, Ireland into petty monarchies: but they have all ſubmitted to one. Should it however be anſwered that Venice, and other ſmall ſtates, have maintained themſelves long in Europe; the reply is, that it was not the reſult of their own power, but of the policy and intereſt of their neighbours. And that very principle, which formed their preſervation, would form the deſtruction of Ireland. The power, policy, and intereſt of other nations would make it the ſeat of war and ſcene of conqueſt, or the ſeal of amity by mutual abandonment, and guaranteed inſignificance. Such is the reſult of ſeparation; which is the reſult of non-incorporation.

On theſe grounds therefore, an incorporative Union appears a meaſure of preſervation from without and within; and a meaſure not only of aggrandizement and elevation to the ſtate, but of repoſe and ſtrength to the empire. It has not for its object a conqueſt of parties, but a balance of parties; to unite, and not to divide; to govern England by an Iriſh Parliament, and Ireland by an Engliſh Parliament, in as much as each will be governed by the united wiſdom of both. All acts will then be the reſult of the concurrence of the Empire: no miſdeeds can then poſſibly find ſecurity in the intrigues of little party: nor any miſrule be then founded either by calumny or by truth upon the Parliamentary influence of factions in a ſingle ſtate.

Ireland will no longer have to complain of Viceroys influencing Parliaments, or Parliaments influencing Viceroys. But, that country will have a King and a Parliament, as has been demanded by the voice of diſcontent, which ſought for ſeparation.

And here a new and important conſideration opens before us. If any Government, as it has been advanced on the rebellious

bellious ſide, poſſeſſes or admits of faculties ſufficient to provoke ſeparation; but does not poſſeſs, as it has been ſtated on the oppoſite ſide, ſufficient to root rebellion rapidly out; ſuch a Government, every man will allow, is poſitively bad. But it is relatively worſe, if a better can be eſtabliſhed. The Government thus complained of by the conflicting parties in Ireland, (for we reaſon upon their complaints in order to inveſtigate, and lay before them, the remedy) is an executive Viceroy with a Legiſlative Parliament. And againſt the influence of which, operating reciprocally as cauſe and effect, the loudeſt murmurs have gone forth, and been ſwelled with every aggravation for the cauſe of ſeparation. What then muſt follow?

This Government conſiſts of two parts: to which of theſe two is a remedy to be applied? Is it to the Viceroy? On account of the natural ſeparation of the two kingdoms, the Executive Government in England cannot immediately diſcharge its functions in Ireland. Theſe operations muſt therefore be deputed to ſecond means. The ſyſtem of Lords Juſtices has been already tried for this purpoſe, and was found highly pernicious. The ſyſtem of Viceroys has been tried, and is found leſs pernicious. But ſtill there is a bane in Viceroyal Government which, not only according to ſeparatiſts, but others, has been Parliamentary influence. The executive power, however, muſt exiſt in the Viceroy, and the legiſlative one muſt exiſt in the Parliament; and therefore ſince neither muſt be deſtroyed, what is to be done? —There is manifeſtly no medium left, in order to ſilence all thoſe complaints, but to diſſolve the contact and conſequently the reciprocal operation of this influence, by incorporating the Iriſh with the Britiſh Legiſlature. And thus, according to the circumſtances and conſtitution of the two countries, all the good of the Viceregal Executive

is conſiderably ameliorated, and all the murmured at evil of Parliamentary influence wiſely removed from the organ of ſeparation.

Prejudice alone can be blind to conviction upon the advantage, as well as the neceſſity of this incorporation. For the whole matter reſolves itſelf into a queſtion of one ſimple point that every reaſonable man can anſwer. Is it better to have a Viceroy in contact with Parliament as *heretofore* in Ireland, or to have the Monarch co-operating with Parliament, as at preſent in Britain? Upon this queſtion we believe no man can entertain a doubt. And ſhould it even be aſked, may not Parliamentary influence operate from Britain? The beſt anſwer is: contemplate its effects in Britain: examine her exalted ſituation; and then let us weep over the deplorable condition of Ireland.

It appears throughout the hiſtory of paſt ages, that the civil, religious, and political ſtate of that iſland have been peculiar beyond example. It appears throughout the exiſting evidence of facts, that the diſcord of internal intereſts, and the jarrings of external policy have been by no means harmoniſed. Rebellion and a deſire of ſeparation have been uniformly and throughout time a prominent feature, under Viceroyalty in contact with Parliaments. We do not however attribute this to the Government: the diſeaſe is not of the phyſician's creation, but its continuance may argue incapacity. Beſides, it appears that this contact and its conſequences have furniſhed murmurs and pleas for ſeparation. Is it not reaſonable then to ſuppoſe, that a diſſolution of the cauſes will be followed by a diſſolution of the effects; rather than ſeparation ſhould enſue with more certainty, the leſs the cauſes for it ſubſiſt?

Whether the complaints of parties in Ireland be true or falſe, there are arguments as clear as exiſtence itſelf, that Ireland

Ireland ſhould deſire incorporation: that ſhe ſhould gladly embrace the ſame Legiſlative Government as England, and prefer its *King*, Lords, and Commons, to a Viceroy, Lords, and Commons. Facts are ſolid and irreſiſtible proofs. Britain offers them in the abundance of its glory, opulence, and proſperity, in favour of Incorporation; Ireland in the hiſtory of its poverty, complaints, and rebellions.

The reaſons are numerous and undeniable for Ireland's placing herſelf under the *immediate* vigilance of her Sovereign and Parliament, rather than remaining as heretofore under a Viceroy. The poſition of a Viceroy in contact with Parliament differs widely from that of his Sovereign: Becauſe, with reſpect to Parliament, the Monarch is above all party; becauſe, with reſpect to intereſt, the Viceregent has no hereditary intereſt, inſeparable from the proſperity of the ſtate: becauſe with reſpect to the ſtates, there muſt ever be under the exiſting ſyſtem a ſpecies of rivalry ſubſiſting between the country which he is ſent to govern, and the one from which he may be choſen, and wherein all his intereſts lie. Whereas both are equal to the Sovereign: his intereſt ariſes from both; and his high honours and emoluments are perſonal, permanent, and entailed upon his poſterity. Conſequently, with this view, he will watch Parliamentary influence, and find his own intereſt, and that of his deſcendants inſeparably linked with the intereſt of each ſtate. Hoſts of arguments might be produced upon this head, were it neceſſary: and all tending to ſhow that when Incorporation places Ireland under ſuch vigilance, there cannot be much dread of ſeparation.

It may alſo be briefly remarked, that in all Governments whatever, where Legiſlative influence is connected with temporary executive authority, the effects are pernicious. In confirmation of this, let the Eccleſiaſtical Government

of Europe be conſidered for a moment: where the chief has infinitely greater intereſts at ſtake on the well-doing of the country, than a deputed ruler can poſſibly have in Viceroyalty. Yet the influence of ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Governments marks itſelf for the traveller's eye in the wretched face of the country, the neglect of agriculture, and the poverty of the ſubjects. And whence all this? Evidently becauſe the ruler's intereſt is too little, while the action and reaction of *Influence* between his *Councils* chambers and himſelf, are too great. His reign, however, cloſes but with his exiſtence. But were it limited to four or five years inſtead of being permanent for life, or rather were its duration dependant on the will of another, then with the rapidity of ſucceſſion the miſchiefs of *Influence* would increaſe. Since therefore, even this Eccleſiaſtical Government has advantages above Viceroyalty connected with Parliamentary Influence; for, the Eccleſiaſtical Ruler muſt, by any immoral exerciſe of his power, defile the ſacred character of his own ſovereignty; whereas the Viceroy, under the action and re-action of Parliamentary influence, plays with the awful dignity of another's ſceptre; were it not better for the nation, to be placed under the perſonal vigilance of its Hereditary Monarch immediately co-operating with its Parliament? Were not ſuch a Governmental ſyſtem far preferable to the one heretofore in uſe, and leſs liable to cauſe a ſeparation between the great Members of the Empire?

Surely, ſince it appears, through the experience of ages, that Parliament cannot exiſt in Ireland, without this influence operating under Vice-royal government; and ſince it appears, that murmurs upon this head have been long and loud; and that in thoſe days it has been the war-whoop for rebellion; and has armed Separatiſts to drench the land with blood: ſurely then, if ſuch miſchiefs can be barred for ever,

not

not only with ſafety but with ſupreme advantage: it were ſomething worſe than folly, it were a ſhameful ſtupidity to the ſufferings of ſociety, and to the future glory of men and things, if they be ſacrificed to vain pride or idle prejudice.

There are other motives, no leſs cogent for the adoption of this meaſure, in order to guard againſt ſeparation.—The councils of Ireland either originate or are decided in the Britiſh Cabinet. So long as the two kingdoms remain ſeparated, as they are at preſent, their intereſts certainly are not identically the ſame. What then muſt be the conſequence? Partialities or neglects muſt inevitably appear toward one or the other country, notwithſtanding the wiſeſt deliberations and moſt upright intentions. The plans, therefore, participating of thoſe, are to be ſubmitted for the ſanction of Parliament, by a Viceroy enjoying all the patronage of the Crown. What then muſt be the reſult? Either the plan does or does not ſucceed: but, in both caſes influence is exerted. If it ſucceeds, all is anger and animoſity on one ſide, and the old horn of ſeparation may be blown again. If it does not ſucceed, while the Government is defeated, it is diſgraced, if not endangered: for amidſt the triumph at the oppoſite ſide, ſeparation may not be far from diſcontent at the attempt. Whereas, if the kingdoms be incorporated, all this rivalry, this partiality, this influence generating party in the Nation, all theſe attempts creating ill blood between the States, cannot poſſibly exiſt. And hence we believe no ſeparation will follow.

Again: ſuppoſe there be no partialities whatever in a plan propoſed; but that it is a great Imperial meaſure, conſequently, the neceſſity of unity in the ſyſtem eſtabliſhes the neceſſity of Viceroyal exertion and influence to carry it into execution. If then this influence ſucceed, and the people without the doors of Parliament be rendered averſe by the party of oppoſition within, or by factious

leaders

leaders amongſt themſelves, what clamour, miſconception and ſedition will go forth and invite ſeparation? But ſuppoſe, on the contrary, that this influence fails, where an Imperial ſyſtem required unity; then, not only the Government is endangered by its weakneſs, but the whole Empire is ſhocked and convulſed, and the States, perhaps, torn aſunder, will preſent an awful ſeparation.

A view of parties alſo and of the conſtitution of thoſe Realms would clearly ſhew, that they are by no means formed for any other Union, than an incorporative one, without danger of ſeparation. An abſolute Monarchy is well calculated for a different connexion, becauſe it is above the re-action of an united State, or the influence of internal party: and, on the ſame ground, it is better calculated for remote poſſeſſions, or extended conqueſts. Had Britain not been bleſt with her conſtitution, America had not been rent from her. And hereon both countries ſhould ſeriouſly pauſe, to conſider ſeparation. In abſolute Monarchies, one will prefcribes, and the ſame will acts; but no man dares to impeach it. Whereas, in any union of *free States*, (ſave where the executive and legiſlative authority of each, and all, are the ſame,) and in all diſtant Governments, connected with Free States, are combined the elements of numberleſs accuſations, which ſupply with food the rage of parties at home. But parties are widely different, with reſpect to States, *federally* united, and a Free State itſelf, or an Incorporative Union of Free States. In a Federal Union they are as the thunderbolt, glancing from one part of the horizon to the other, to rend aſunder the unions of nature. But in a Free State, or Incorporative Union of Free States, they are like thoſe bodies of vapour, that ſerve as conductors to electric fire, and which ſeem to inflame the heavens, but enlighten mankind.

Parties,

Parties, however, ſhould not be confounded with factions; and, of the latter, Ireland has long been too productive. They have been its bane; but Incorporation is the antidote. And were it only to purge the country of the dangers of this peſtilence, it were a ſufficient argument, for the adoption of this meaſure: Becauſe ſuch bodies are always influenced by private, not public ambition: becauſe their leaders would raiſe themſelves upon the management of individuals and the fall of their country: becauſe it is the very ſpirit of faction to have *diviſion* and *corruption* in the State, and not UNION in the Empire, not integrity in its parts.

The chiefs of ſuch bodies communicate their paſſions to others: and through the incentives of avarice and ambition increaſe their factions in ſociety, to diſturb the public peace, and rob ſociety. What they could not effectuate individually in a ſingle ſtate, they effectuate collectively. But what they effectuate collectively in a *ſingle* ſtate, they could not effectuate in *an union* of the ſtates. But, ſince the viceroyal government, conſtituted as it now is with legiſlative connexion, has *often* been influenced, and *unable* to reſiſt thoſe factions: ſince, from ſuch moments, many of the miſchiefs of Ireland partly may be dated: and ſince ſuch factions and their leaders, ſhould any ſuch hereafter ariſe, muſt hide their diminiſhed heads before an Imperial ſenate, conſequently, the great cauſe of *ſeparation* will thus lie vanquiſhed at the feet of Incorporation.

This want of Union, this diviſion between the ſtates and people of Britain and Ireland, have long enabled factions in both nations to bring diſgrace upon themſelves, and danger upon the Empire from abroad and at home. The ſame

cauſes

cauſes muſt ever produce the ſame effects, and finally, perhaps, *ſeparation*. But Incorporation blaſts it in the very germ.

On theſe grounds, therefore, it were obviouſly wiſe to incorporate the Parliaments. The executive government of Ireland would then aſſume a new form. When, unincumbered with the buſineſs of Parliament and diſtractions of parties, all its vigilance and attention would be directed to the due execution of the laws;—and when, no longer expoſed to the influence of legiſlative party, it could no longer be accuſed of conſequent partiality.—Therefore, the *preſent* PLEA *and* DREAD *of SEPARATION* muſt be diſſolved, and the bond of connexion between thoſe realms be drawn cloſer.

The fifth poſition is—*That an amelioration of manners may not be expected from an Incorporative Union.*

Violations of moral order have been too long permitted to ſettle into habitudes in Ireland.—The effects of ſuch conduct in diſtant times are felt grievouſly to this day. Britain, however, has not now a Sovereign, who REFUSES its *laws, cuſtoms, and manners*, to Ireland, as thoſe in remote periods;* but who has thrown open to it, freedom and commerce; and now offers a participation of Britain's opulence, ſtability, and glory:—*His* heart is alive to the intereſts of all his ſubjects—his boſom is open to receive them in joy or diſtreſs—and his arms to protect them.

Upon the ſubject of manners, we ſhall be guided by the evidence of known hiſtorical facts; and, through the experience of ages and countries, we ſhall ſeek inſtructions for the good of Ireland.

At a moment when the public mind had not yet been enlightened by the progreſs of knowledge, the firſt Political Compact

* 2 Edward III. clauſe 17——Council Book of Ireland, 34 Hen. VIII.

compact took place between England and Ireland. Both countries became conſolidated under Henry II. by an imperial and dependent Union. The influence of this Union did not, however, ſuperſede the evils of an uncivilifed ſtate; for the Iriſh were refuſed the ſanction of the Britiſh laws, and kept under the bolts and bars of their own barbarous cuſtoms. At that moment, they were moulded into a ſpecies of moral monſter, bereft of all the virtues of a ſavage ſtate, and corrupted by all the vices of a civil one.

From the period of Henry II. in 1171, to the time of a reformation under JAMES, by Sir John Davies, a ſpace of 440 years intervened; and, from that time to the preſent, we have a term of 188 years. Now, that all the habits which had been contracted through a ſpace commencing beyond human record or tradition—whoſe ſavage ſhades had been fixed through the ſucceeding tyranny of the civil ſtate during 440 years; and which had been rendered ſtill more ſavage, by the addition of new vices and the abolition of old virtues;—that all this accumulation of lawleſs and tumultuary barbariſm, collected and forced upon the natives through unlimited time, could have flowed off in 188 years —we believe no man, who has obſerved moral operations in ſociety, could well expect. To this muſt be added, that thoſe 188 years have been attended with peculiar circumſtances, which were by no means calculated to eradicate bad moral habits, and give back nature to its genuine and true tone. But, if we remove thoſe circumſtances, which have retarded the progreſs of that moral amelioration brought about by the civil reform, have we not juſt reaſon to ſuppoſe that a rapid improvement in manners will take place? And ſuch muſt be the effects of Incorporation:—Firſt, through a radical removal (as we have ſhewn before) of the diſcord of the higher parties, which arms the tumultuary

rage and jealouſy of the lower; and next, through an inevitable improvement (as we ſhall now ſhew) of that condition of the lower claſſes, which ſhapes them, in all countries and ages, into apt tools for rebellion and vice.

If the people be happy, they will be virtuous; and, if the great be virtuous, they will be happy. There is no maxim in morality more true. The queſtion, then, for the application of this moral truth, is—Are the people of Ireland as happy as they might * or ought to be?—becauſe, if they be not happy, do not expect civil virtue.

Poverty is tolerable, in ſtates of ſavage equality; but it is inſupportable in the aſpect of civil opulence. Privations are indifferent to men, when enjoyments are not known; but privations become puniſhments in the centre of ſurrounding indulgences. Where there is exceſs of opulence and exceſs of poverty, ſocial *happineſs* muſt ceaſe, and civil liberty expire.—Eternal objects of envy, even the rich cannot be happy amidſt their enjoyments. They arm the miſerable with fire and ſword againſt them: and a dangerous immorality enſues. In ſuch caſes alſo, *corruption* creeps by the path of meanneſs from poverty to opulence. And *corruption* mounts alſo, with a vicious rapidity, to elevation, by all the means of moral abjection. What, then, muſt follow ſuch manners?

Throughout all ſocieties, in order to lay the foundation of civil VIRTUE, *ſocial happineſs* muſt be eſtabliſhed upon a general diffuſion of wealth. We mean by this, that, with regard to the lower orders, they muſt have decent raiment, comfortable dwellings, wholeſome and abundant food. Without theſe, civiliſed man is miſerable: and miſery creates *indolence*; and both *immorality*. But indolence and immorality muſt rapidly ſubſide, under trade and commerce ſpring-

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* The ſtatement made before the Houſe of Commons, in Ireland, by Mr. Johnſon, is referred to—See note, page 10.

ing from ſecurity. Security will ſoon bring Engliſh ſkill and capital to Ireland; conſequent trade will promote agriculture; and trade, agriculture, and ſecurity, fully evince the benefits of Incorporation upon human manners.—It is thus a ſyſtem will ſoon develope, wherein we ſhall no longer ſee one part of the nation condemned to idleneſs, another to indigence, and both to misfortune. But we ſhall behold *activity* diffuſed throughout the nation, without which there is no happineſs; and energy, without which there is no virtue. Then the combinations of vice will ceaſe among the aſpiring low, and the expedients of baſeneſs among the ſuffering poor. Force of body or faculties of mind will offer more eaſy modes of ſubſiſtence, honourable purſuits, and greater hopes.

The capital will no longer be a gulph of riches and men. The one and the other will be diſtributed more equally throughout the provinces. The towns will be leſs populous; the country more ſo; and the inhabitants more united and leſs diſtreſſed, will find, in this new ſituation, peace, *happineſs*, and *virtue*.

Theſe principles are not founded upon ſpeculation, but upon facts and experience: we reaſon not as metaphyſicians, we ſpeak from example. Hiſtory demonſtrates that manners are more pure, and happineſs more great, in proportion as riches are leſs unequal amongſt the people of all nations. Greece alone furniſhes many examples of this truth. Lacedæmon owed, to this circumſtance, the preſervation of its virtues during ages.

We have further corroboration of the truth of theſe principles in the example of Rome.—After the expulſion of the Tarquins, an odious and diſproportionate inequality remained between the two great orders of the ſtate: had it

continued,

continued, Rome had ſoon periſhed, and perhaps its name had not come down to us. But, as this diſproportion diſappeared, *virtues* came forward, and prepared the Romans for the conqueſt of the world. However, the plunder of nations brought on an inequality more deadly. The manners became rapidly corrupt, they prepared the ruin of the Republic: they became more corrupt, and the Republic is no more. This is a picture: May it not prove a prophecy?—let France look to it.

But without recurring further to ancient proofs, we have a ſtriking example at home. Behold, Britain! Where is there a more juſt and general diffuſion of wealth—and where is there more *happineſs*—where more *virtue?*—What is Britain, in theſe days of yeomanry?—what was it, in thoſe of vaſſalage?

In ſuch barbarous times throughout Europe, ſo different from the preſent, and in no inſtance more than the following, the men leaſt civilized were the moſt exalted. For to ignorance they joined brutal valour and brutal manners, and concentred the vices ariſing from riches and power. Such an order of men was to be ruined before they were to be civiliſed. And through commerce and the arts, this barbariſm of Europe has been removed. For, when the Indies flung its wealth into the lap of Europe, ſuch men became more luxurious, more diſtreſſed, more ſubmiſſive; their ſovereigns more free; and the people leſs oppreſſed. The whole maſs of manners has been changed by commerce. Its activity has given new life to men, ſince fortunes depend leſs upon titles than upon induſtry: for the man of nothing, who has talents, elevates himſelf, while the great man, who has them not, tumbles.

Theſe are the indiſputable effects of commerce. It has, throughout Europe—it has, manifeſtly in Britain, freed

Kings

Kings from ſlavery; and people from oppreſſion: and thus, in all countries, commerce brings in riches; riches produce luxury; luxury puts down the high and exalts the low. Thus vice is puniſhed, if not checked above; and virtue and induſtry encouraged below. It is the univerſal ſyſtem whereby manners have been ameliorated: the proofs are before us.

But if luxury paſs into a country throughout any other medium than that of commerce, the ſame effects will not follow. We are informed by hiſtory, that commerce had enriched ſome towns of Italy, and introduced luxury. The Popes introduced this luxury into France; and their legates left it in all the courts: but commerce was not in the train. What was the conſequence? This luxury rendered the people more poliſhed, but not more civilized, not more politically moralized.

A nation becomes civilized in proportion as it quits the manners, which marked its barbarous ſtate. It becomes politically moraliſed, as it obeys the laws that oppoſe diſorder, and form an habitude of ſocial virtues. And it becomes poliſhed, when it piques itſelf on its elegance in thought or action. Thus, for example, the Greeks were civiliſed before the times of Solon or Lycurgus: they were politically moraliſed during the ages of theſe two Legiſlators; and they were poliſhed during that of Pericles. In modern times, the French amidſt their luxury were poliſhed: the Engliſh with luxury on one ſide, and commerce on the other, ſtand between and enjoy poliſh and political morality; whereas the Iriſh are in the extremes. The one claſs is not yet politically moraliſed, for it has not contracted the ſocial virtues; nor can it contract them until it is happy in the comforts of the ſocial ſtate. But the other claſs is

arrived

arrived at the ſtate of poliſh and luxury. If however atticiſm and urbanity marked the decline of Greeks and Romans, what may be the reſult to day, where poliſhed luxury is at war with civil miſery? That which is not expected: virtue and happineſs will ariſe from this ſtate. For, commerce will advance the one claſs, and bring back the other to that point of political morality, where *happineſs* will ſecure *virtue* amongſt the people, and *virtue* inſure *happineſs* amongſt the great. And thus will Incorporation aſſimilate Ireland to England, and ameliorate the manners of the former. For, even the ſtate of vaſſalage was put down in the latter by commerce, and the nation advanced to its preſent point of poliſh and political morality.

It ſhould be remarked too, that this meaſure of Incorporation wiſely combining the two great principles of Legiſlation and Government, unfolds in one act the *policy* of *nature*, and the *policy* of the *paſſions*. It proceeds upon the phyſical relations of the two countries, as to poſition and advantages, and it conſults the moral caſt of ſociety, or the manners and moral effects of natural and civil cauſes. Muſt it not therefore, clearly and inevitably, under the operations of ſuch true principles, harmonize *all jarrings, external and internal?* And through ſuch effects *muſt* not VIRTUE be diffuſed throughout the nation? We ſhall not then behold, what is the greateſt VICE under Government, men living no longer under the empire of the laws. This is ſurely therefore a meaſure of ſound policy: Sound policy is ſound morality: and that ſound morality will not ameliorate manners, is an unwarranted aſſertion. From the chaos of rebellion thus a great nation may ariſe, ſecure under HAPPINESS, and growing amidſt its VIRTUES.

CONCLUSION.

There are certain points peculiarly deſerving the attention of different bodies.

The

The Catholics will no doubt wiſely balance what they wiſh to gain, and what they have to loſe by Incorporation. Firſt, their great object is the acquiſition of Legiſlative Power—but that power were more attainable in a Britiſh Parliament than in an Iriſh one, for the conſtitutional impediments are equal in both countries, but the prejudices and apprehenſions muſt be leſs in the former. Beſide, if they were at preſent to acquire emancipation in Ireland, it were a tantalizing boon which they could not enjoy. Nine tenths of the landed property being in the poſſeſſion of Proteſtants, it muſt enſure no ſmall ſway in county elections, which will be uſed with double exertions, to keep Catholics out of an Iriſh Parliament. And as to Boroughs, they were formed expreſsly to exclude Catholics from Parliament; ſo that the whole frame of the Legiſlature muſt be broken up, and the whole conſtitution muſt be changed and altered, before they can taſte emancipation, were it even granted to them. After this they will conſider what enjoyments, the maxims of ſtateſmen on tolerated ſects, might move and ſanction others to take back, if not ſecured by Incorporation. When the Catholics were in the proportion of forty to one Proteſtant, their reſtraints were very ſevere. They are now as three to one; but this univerſal maxim of policy, with reſpect to ſects, which is followed over the globe, even where they are weak, has been relaxed in Ireland, beyond example, where they are ſtill ſtrong. Theſe are ſurely civil bleſſings; and of which indeed ſome of the moſt wiſe and virtuous men of that body ſeem truly ſenſible. Unhappily however, under the ſanction of names and ſome popular principles in politics and religion, the ſenſe and piety of others have been cruelly deluded by bad men. Miſerable impoſtors! What have they done? They have let looſe upon fallen Catholics, upon mild and ſimple cultivators of the land,

land, the monſter Fanaticiſm which drinks the blood of mankind. They have blooded the ſun of their riſing liberties with an horrid war. Why did they prompt the Catholics to take up arms? Was it for religion? Their religion was not attacked: their temples are ſtill open; even a college has been founded by the Government for the education of their clergy, and the inſtruction of their youth. Was it for their liberty? Never did they enjoy ſo much. And in no nation under heaven does a ſect differing from that eſtabliſhed by the policy of the ſtate, enjoy ſuch a portion. The Catholics then will wiſely ſecure theſe bleſſings. And as to the vanity of ambition and all its empty acquiſitions, where laws and freedom are equal, ſurely there is a much more ſolid and endearing power over mankind, through the influence of an happy ſuperiority ariſing from the virtues, the opulence, the induſtry of commerce. Riches and beneficence are far beyond the glare of office, or the thorny pillow of ſtation. We ſpeak to the underſtandings of men, and not to their paſſions.

Through the effects of the ſuppoſed Union we conceive that *all profeſſions* muſt reap conſiderable advantage. For as the proſperity of Ireland will then keep pace with the proſperity of the empire, and as the proſperity of the empire muſt be indiſputably increaſed by this Incorporation, conſequently by Incorporation Ireland muſt acquire aggrandizement and elevation. And as the population, commerce, and agriculture of Ireland increaſe, ſo muſt neceſſarily the *objects* of all profeſſions; and likewiſe the *remunerations* of ſcience and the arts be proportionately augmented.

Upon this ground, profeſſional men may entertain wide and ſolid expectations, for there is an extenſive and obvious latitude for improvement in Ireland. If we calculate upon what that nation *is*, and what ſhe *was*, we may ſee what ſhe

may

may be, and conſequently what men have to expect.—Firſt, then with reſpect to what ſhe is, and the latitude for future improvement; there are many and great deficiencies in a civil, religious and commercial view; which are highly impolitic, and indeed diſgraceful in ſo great an empire, and in ſo enlightened an age. Is a continued chain of ſanguinary rebellions, a proof of civiliſation? Is ſuch a ſtate of agriculture, is one ſolitary manufacture, is poverty and complaint a proof of enlightened policy? Is the moſt abject ſuperſtition, is the moſt ſanguine bigotry, a proof of ſound or true morality? Is the commerce of the country compared with its extraordinary capacities, a proof of civil economy? Let men diſpaſſionately conſider, if they would have Ireland remain thus? But ſhe cannot remain thus: ſhe muſt deſcend by Separation, or aſcend by Incorporation. And what that aſcent or what Ireland *may be*, will be beſt calculated on a retroſpective glance at what *ſhe was*. In the beginning of this century her balance of commerce with the *whole world* was about four hundred thouſand pounds per annum: and now her commerce with *Great Britain alone* is about ten fold that ſum. The queſtion then is, whence the enormous increaſe which ſhe has experienced within thoſe few years? Becauſe Britain before that period turned her back upon Ireland, and her face toward America, and ſhe was loſt in her ſhadow: but then turning with a partial influence toward Ireland, that country has rapidly grown under the warmth of her ſplendor and protection. Now ſhe would emboſom her in her glory, and what muſt be the effects? Will men embrace them by Incorporation, or reject them and ſeparate?

The world is now entering upon a new epoch of things. New views and new relations, political and commercial, muſt ariſe between ſtates, from the coincidences of thoſe times. A ſtrange variation marks this awful period, and

 renders

renders uncertain the pending iſſue of affairs. It will therefore be at leaſt wiſe in every branch of the Britiſh Empire, to coaleſce and conſolidate her energies, that ſhe may meet this moment of trial with a commanding aſpect.

It is no inconſiderable maxim in policy that Governments watch over the inclinations of their own ſubjects, and conſult the genius and tendency of other nations. They ſhould hearken attentively to the times, obſerving the bias of men and ſeaſon of things. Theſe are Counſellors, whoſe voice ſpeaks aloud to all parties, and ſhould be the guide of all men. Tutored by them, they will remark, that in bodies politic as well as natural, diſeaſes may be death, or may prove remedies. The days of Cromwell were a political fever, when many vitiated humours were thrown off: Every diſorder of the conſtitution became *notorious*, and the remedies were *underſtood*.

To day both diſorder and remedy are manifeſt in Ireland. Separated, however, as ſhe is, the thunderbolt has often fallen, and its voice was not heard; but united, it muſt be heard, it will be felt in Britain. The whole ſyſtem of things will be changed; the operations will be different, the wheels different, and the moving force better proportioned to the reſiſting power. In a more numerous * Senate there will be an acquiſition of wiſdom. And the legiſlatures of the three nations will thus become the heart of the Empire, to diffuſe vigour throughout the whole, by their ſound and wholeſome laws: or theſe laws muſt return corrupted and deſtructive to that ſource, whence they firſt originated. It will, therefore, be no longer the raſh or unwiſe experiment of one nation, repoſing for a prop on the

* It may paſs for a maxim in States, that *the adminiſtration cannot be placed in too few hands*, nor the *Legiſlature in too many*.

Dean Swift.

the other in caſe of failure. For the fate of one and all will be at iſſue, and the wiſdom of the whole will, at leaſt, be cautious.

"Quo res cunque cadent, unum et commune periculum,
"Una ſalus ambobus erit." VIRG.

Thus then, with an anxious deſire for the real good of the Iriſh nation, and for the ſplendor and invigoration of the Empire at large, we have placed before men their public condition, that they may think wiſely and act juſtly. It were more than imprudent, at this day, to harmoniſe parties to an accordance, which was not founded upon the unalterable ſcale of truth. But wiſely, honeſtly, and openly brought into uniſon, and to embrace an Incorporation, they will ſoon fell to the earth the monſter Rebellion. Proud are we to ſay, that we do not ſtand ſingle upon the meditated ruins of bad ſyſtems. And we doubt not that one heart will animate and one mind pervade men, when they ſhall have ſeriouſly and diſpaſſionately reconſidered thoſe *injuries* and *loſſes*, *gains* and *benefits*, which have been or may be attributed to this Incorporative Union.

INJURIES.

The firſt injuries are thoſe urged at a meeting of the gentlemen of the Iriſh bar—

1. "*That the poverty of Ireland cannot bear the weight of taxes, which the riches of England ſuſtain with eaſe and comfort.*"—This has been clearly confuted.

2. "*That in the United Parliaments, in all caſes of competition, Ireland muſt ſuffer.*"—It has been undeniably proved that this cannot be the caſe.

3. "*That this Union tends ultimately to ſeparation.*"—The reverſe ſhewn: for, WITHOUT INCORPORATION, SEPARATION muſt follow.

4. "*That*

4. "*That Amelioration of manners will not reſult from this Union, but perhaps the contrary.*" Facts, analogy, and the experience of ages, overturn this poſition.

The next Injury which has been attributed to this meaſure by other gentlemen, has appeared in the following ſhape:

5. "Should the Proteſtant gentlemen, whoſe ſervices ſtemmed the torrent of rebellion, and ſaved the nation to the Empire, be removed?" The anſwer is, the *cauſes* of rebellion are to be removed, and the nation ſaved effectually to itſelf. Beſide, how few of theſe gentlemen will be removed?

LOSSES.

6. The loſſes of money to the capital, by the ſums ſpent in England by thoſe attending on Parliament. Firſt, The number will be inconſiderable: ſecond, if through this number a loſs were to be ſuſtained, it would be much more than counterbalanced by the civil effects: third, in reality, no ſuch loſs can be felt from the overbalancing *increaſe* of commerce: and fourth, ſuch an apparent loſs were a real gain to the capital in views of trade and manufacture.

7. A formidable one, according to the ſpirit of rivalry, appears in the diminution of repreſentation. Some have ſaid, that the dignity and conſequence of Ireland would be lowered, by the reduction of its members. It is tolerably obvious that Ireland muſt be exalted in wealth and power, by this ſcheme. Beſide, in fact, is repreſentation a juſt ſcale of political dignity? If ſo, how ſuperior in civil importance is the pot-houſe of old Sarum to the great and populous towns of Birmingham and Mancheſter together? Alſo, ſince Yorkſhire ſends thirty members to Parliament, and London but four, then London muſt, indeed, be very inconſiderable as to its importance; and, its comparative

conſequence

conſequence toward York is, according to this meaſure, exactly double that of the beer-houſe at Old Sarum, which ſends two members to the Senate.

8. The next loſs, which is urged, is one that will prove a gain beyond calculation. Flaming PATRIOTS, as they *would* be thought, have called the Union an act, whereby a youthful and riſing body is coupled to one old in decay and tumbling into diſſolution. Now, in truth, the fact is, that it is joining the Iriſh nation, old in diſorder and feeble in itſelf, through thoſe diſorders, to one that is vigorous and virtuous. It is the Union of a child, or rather a pigmy, to a giant, in ſtrength, commerce and freedom, for mutual ſupport. For ſince the poſitive or relative power of nations is eſtimated by ſize, population and wealth; what is Ireland in all thoſe three, toward the whole of the Britiſh empire beſide? What is her opulence or power compared to the ſources of both in the commerce of Britain alone, and in that navy which is the broad ſhield of the univerſe? If the taxable income, as ſtated by Mr. Pitt, and we apprehend that it is underſtated through diſcretion, amounts, after deducting the one million of Ireland, to 101 *millions* annually, it is not a difficult matter for Ireland to calculate upon ſuch *data* the relative capital of both countries. When the relative capital is aſcertained, then let her aſk herſelf, whether it were wiſe or not to join in ſuch a firm as that of Britain for commerce, and whether it were well to join with ſuch a free and powerful nation, for an equality in both?

GAINS.

Let us now view the *gains* reſulting from Incorporation.

9. The civil ſyſtem improved, in property; in public and private condition; and in political ſituation.

10. The religious or eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem: by the revival of moral obedience, and reſpect to its authority, which have

have too long been and muſt ever be loſt in civil diſcords and fanatic rebellions, that undermine the throne and the altar: improved alſo in the ſecurity of its poſſeſſions and eſtabliſhments. Query—Should not the Catholic eſtabliſhment be taken under the patronage and protection of Government; and the clergy of this body and of the Diſſenters have their ſupport from the Crown?

11. Commercial ſyſtem, under ſecurity and tranquillity, muſt be improved in ſkill, capital, and extent, beyond the poſſibility of calculation.

BENEFITS.

Laſtly, let us view ſome few of the *benefits.*

12. The nation will be freed from the characteriſtic and immoral impulſion given to the people, by civil circumſtances, down through ages, and under the Imperial Union.

13. It will be freed from the political and ambitious impulſion given to other orders, under the Federal Union.

14. It will be freed from the effects of that awful impulſion, given to many, by the civil peſtilence of the times.

15. It will be freed from diſtreſſes, which have been *long* exiſting, according to the teſtimony of the ſervants and *friends* of Government.

It will be freed from diſtreſſes which have been aggravated, for the purpoſes of rebellion, by the enemies of *Government.*

It will be freed from diſtreſſes which are atteſted by the ableſt politicians of Europe, men no way connected with Ireland, but by their knowledge and virtues, with which they have laboured for the good of the Empire, and have been crowned with the applauſes of the univerſe.

For

For theſe great and valuable purpoſes, and upon the grounds and reaſons before mentioned, we are the advocates of an Incorporative Union. To raiſe up ſuch a *ſyſtem* of happineſs and virtue upon the ruin of bad ones, and not to accommodate errors, but eradicate evils, our phalanx is ſome of the ableſt, the wiſeſt, and the beſt men of both nations.

All other party we diſclaim: Little diſtinction is loſt in our view. In the comprehenſive ſound of Empire, our mind embraces but an uniſon of nations: in that of nations it awakens but a thought of mankind. Judges, before whoſe tribunal we bow, your happineſs is our object. If our zeal be exceſſive, we ſubmit to your reproach: But, as the friend of Ireland, we would drive from the cradle of its infant greatneſs, the monſters that menace its exiſtence and repoſe. Tarquins may condemn us, but no Brutus will accuſe us.

F I N I S.

5

THE

POLITICAL,

COMMERCIAL, AND CIVIL,

STATE OF IRELAND.

BY THE REV. DR. CLARKE,

SECRETARY FOR THE LIBRARY AND CHAPLAIN TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

BEING

AN APPENDIX

TO

"UNION OR SEPARATION."

[The attention of the Houſe of Lords was called by the *Marquis of Lanſdowne*, to "Union or Separation," as "containing more ſound ſenſe, more knowledge, "and more experience of the world, than volumes "which had been written on the ſubject."]

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1799.

THE

POLITICAL,

COMMERCIAL, AND CIVIL,

STATE OF IRELAND.

WE ſhould cautiouſly guard againſt the condemnation of a great and important meaſure, before we have examined it in all its bearings, with the ſound and deliberate exerciſe of unprejudiced reaſon. For, however ſublime the range of genius may be, or however high the caſt of authority, they ſhould not be admitted with aſſertions as arguments, nor unſupported opinions as proofs.——We ſhould try them by the unerring touchſtone of facts and common ſenſe. Genius may dazzle, but not elucidate; and authority may impoſe, if not err—it often does ſo. But facts cannot miſlead, common ſenſe cannot deceive. And, if by theſe two guides the people be ſuffered to judge for themſelves, we are convinced they will judge juſtly.

Having thus exerciſed their underſtanding fully and fairly, if they find an Union pernicious to the welfare of Ireland, then, in the name of common ſenſe, let them reject and oppoſe it to the laſt extremity. But, if on the contrary, they perceive, that it is the only hand which pours oil into the

wounds of their bleeding country, and binds them up for ever; if it be the only means to heal *particular* grievances, and to promote *general* welfare, let them in God's name embrace it. And judging of it, let them coolly and diſpaſſionately direct their views to the *whole* intereſt of Ireland, which muſt, unavoidably include their own *particular* welfare; let them alſo conſider well the ſtate of Ireland to day: the ſtate of the Empire and of Europe, the caſt of the times, and the awful condition of the civilized and bleeding world, —and then they will judge juſtly.

On a ſubject ſo comprehenſive, ſhould any arguments be advanced, which have been more ably enforced before, we truſt we ſhall be excuſed: at the cloſe of a long diſcuſſion, perhaps, it is not unpardonable, as it is not unwiſe, to refreſh the memory of conviction.

One ground, however, remains yet untrodden—it is that of commerce. And on *this important ground* we hold it our duty, ſo far as full and authentic documents enable us, to inſtruct our fellow ſubjects in Ireland, and to warn them with anxious concern as they value their country, and almoſt their exiſtence as a nation, to think wiſely, and act juſtly.—For this purpoſe we ſhall lay before them a body of evidence on Commerce, which is incontrovertible by the higheſt, and we doubt not, will prove concluſive to the meaneſt capacity, on the ſubject of an Union.

It has, however, been aſſerted, that though the wiſdom and expediency of an Union were manifeſt, it is not lawful. Now, in the very aſſertion, there is a plain contradiction to the point advanced. The eſſence of all power and all law is *neceſſity*: which neceſſity is in other words an imperious principle, called the *good of Society*. Whatever, therefore, is wiſe and expedient, contains that eternal principle, and is the eſſential baſis of all laws whatever, whether they be *fundamental* laws or laws of regulation.

But,

But, without dragging an heavy load for conteſt, we ſhall, like David when he would not encumber himſelf with the weighty armour of Saul, enter the conflict in a different manner. We aſſert, therefore, that the Parliament is fully competent to enact an Union: and our authority is—that of Coke, Hale, Blackſtone, the great and honeſt Lord Somers, and the four preſent Chief Judges of Ireland. And who can be more perſonally affected *againſt* an Union, from their official ſituation, than the laſt named authorities: and what authority ſtands higher for diſcernment, than that of Lord Clare; what one more pure or exalted, than that of Lord Carleton;——more able than that of Lord Yelverton;——or more profound than that of Lord Kilwarden?——Beſide, if the Parliament of Ireland be not competent to this act, then the great and eſſential powers of Parliament are blaſted, and its beſt authority is no more. What is the Catholic Bill reduced to by this argument?——A public infringement on the rights of individuals. What the propoſed reform?——An unlawful abrogation of corporative franchiſes. What the repeal of the Declaratory Act, of the 6th of George I.? A nullity—an act of uſurpation; and the Parliament of Ireland is ſtill bound by Engliſh laws.—But we need no ſtronger teſt of the invalidity of an opinion, than the abſurdity of its conſequences. Beſide, if the Prerogative of the Crown, the Privileges of the People, and the Conſtitution of Parliament, be not ſubject to its control, how, in the name of common ſenſe, did we, the ſubjects of the King of Great Britain, attain the invaluable bleſſings of that Conſtitution we enjoy ſo eminently above other nations? Such crude aſſertions really deſerve no anſwer. For if Parliament had not this competency, we had been ſtationary in bondage, like the other ſlaves of Europe. But, thank God, every thing is within the power of the Parliaments of theſe realms, which is for

the good of their reſpective nations, and Parliament has no other fundamental law nor limitation.

The queſtion then is, whether the propoſed Union be for the *good* of the *Iriſh nation*, or *not?*

As this queſtion includes the benefits derivable by the people of Ireland, from her *preſent* ſyſtem, and thoſe from an *incorporative* Union, we ſhall, in order to bring the matter to a clear iſſue, conſider the preſent Political, Commercial, and Civil ſtate of Ireland. And under theſe three general heads abundant proofs will concur, to enable us to decide accurately and fully which of the two ſyſtems, the *preſent* or the *propoſed* one, ought to prevail, with a view to the good of the people.—Unfortunately, the happineſs of the people of Ireland, is according to the opinions of many, found wanting in the balance of preſent good. If ſo, humanity, however, weeps over the folly of pride, and ſometimes pardons the weakneſs and ambition—but can the mean dread of loſing authority blind particular men to the common utility of their nation—do not its wounds cry unto them,—or can they be deaf to an awful ſentiment of their own individual condition? The great voice of nature ſurely cannot be drowned, in theſe times, in filly prejudice or calamitous error.

POLITICAL STATE.

The political ſtate of a country may be conſidered internally and externally. The internal ſtate includes its government and powers; the external ſtate its relations, in point of enmity or friendſhip, with other nations. In thoſe two views let us conſider Ireland.

Firſt: As to the government of Ireland, the policy of its arrangements in 1782, marks the imperfection of its practical

tical powers; and that ſkill which ſo nobly attempted to cure political complaints, introduced but new diſorders. For from the great object of that arrangement, which was independency, aroſe the idea of diſtinctneſs, and through this diſtinctneſs between the two bodies of the Empire, as well as the two bodies of the Iriſh nation, the contagious poiſon of the times has infuſed that of ſeparation. And againſt this deadly conſequence to all parties there is no antidote, nor reſource left, but an incorporative Union.

Here however independency riſes againſt the propoſition, pleading with all the force of honourable pride. To this manly principle, therefore, we bow and anſwer, that Iriſh independency does not, can not exiſt, ſave under an incorporative Union. If it did *really* exiſt, what muſt follow? Ultimately and unavoidably a ſeparation of the two kingdoms, through jealouſy and variance: If Ireland be *nominally* independent, the ſeparation is ſo much the more inevitable, when one Parliament in the moſt powerful kingdom, is *really* independent, and the other in the weak kingdom is *practically* ſubſervient.——That this is the caſe, every law of Ireland announces under the *great ſeal of Britain:* which is a record of the dependency of its connexion, and an atteſtation of the inferiority of its ſtate. Remove that inferiority, and ſeparation enſues: embrace equality, and the Union may be immortal.

The Parliament of Ireland is *ipſo facto*, in a dependent ſtate, as we have ſhewn before: the Crown of Ireland is by law dependent on that of Great Britain, and the commerce of Ireland, is by neceſſity; and it muſt with gratitude be acknowledged as a favour that it is permitted to be dependent upon the bounty of the Britiſh Parliament: as we ſhall incontrovertibly ſhew hereafter.

Thus then we ſee that the Union removes at once all theſe dependencies, and makes Ireland completely independent and equal to Great Britain. She will then become politically

litically free, whereas her government and powers are now politically dependent.

Next: with reſpect to its Political Relations, that with Britain is a dependent one, not only in Crown and Commerce, and under the ſeal of its laws, but under the ſhield of its protection: and that with other nations, is but through abſolute dependence. For it wears again this badge in the ſigns and ſeals of all treaties, and diplomatic arrangements, entered into by Great Britain with other Powers. And if it be not thus included, and dependently connected, it has neither political relation, nor rank amongſt treating nations.

Were ſhe not thus dependently connected with Great Britain, what muſt be the obvious reſult? It is remarked by Machiavel, that war ſhould be the only ſtudy of States, and ſays Hobbes, war is the ſtate of nature. Theſe two men demonſtrate to us the melancholy hiſtory of Political Societies. The leagues of nations are confederacies of intereſt; that intereſt originates and ends in views of power. What then is the power of Ireland? where is her portion, to ſecure friendſhip by leagues, or repel enmity by arms, were ſhe independent? This want of power muſt, neceſſarily and ever, make her dependent in the wildeſt ſchemes of fancied independency, either to become wholly unconnected, or remain connected as at preſent by a federal Union. The proofs are evidently before her. But had ſhe ample power for independence, would the propoſition of Union now exiſt? Moſt indubitably not: ſhe had long ſince been independent. But her diminutive ſtrength and relative poſition on the globe deny this independence, therefore, ſhe can only be conjunctively independent; and through no other conjunction, that all the wit of man can deviſe, can ſhe be independent, than through an incorporative one. We defy the moſt profound judgment, or ſharpeſt ingenuity, to point out any other mode, whereby Ireland can be in reality and practically independent, than through an Union

on of the Legiſlatures. She has neither population, territories, revenues, nor commerce, to be ſeparately independent; but, by incorporation and identity with Great Britain, ſhe acquires all theſe: and, therefore by Union, and with Great Britain alone, can ſhe, or will ſhe ever be independent.

As to Union with France; it is Union with deſpotiſm and robbery. That murdering nation has twice renewed her vaſt armies, which have been ſwept off the face of the polluted earth. She has twice publicly robbed her own ſubjects, giving them for their plundered property, paper of no value, under the name of Aſſignats and Mandats.—She has, unceaſingly and without diſtinction, ſince the revolution, ſtripped her people, after ſhe had robbed her throne and ſacked her altars. Not glutted with the ſlaughter of above two millions of her unhappy ſubjects, ſhe plucked the ſword from the bowels of her own people, to plunge it into the boſom of foreign nations. She has vexed both elements: the earth and the ſea bear witneſs againſt her havock of the human ſpecies: and Heaven itſelf had not bounds for her crimes—ſhe has inſulted the Majeſty of the Creator upon his throne.

The whole globe was unequal to her horrors: even one ſmall portion of it has been plundered by her rapacity of 1,691,757,354*l.* ſterl. [ſee table A.] And we believe it might with great truth be aſſerted, that tigers and wolves have not collectively committed ſuch havoc upon their reſpective ſpecies ſince the creation, as the French upon their own, ſince the revolution. Now that theſe men ſhould with ſuch qualifications ſet up to be legiſlators of the world, is ſomewhat ſtrange. But it is more ſtrange, that Ireland or any other nation, in its ſenſes, ſhould unite with them. For have they not puniſhed virtue with chains, baniſhment, and death? do they not regard their *own people* as an herd of cattle, to be butchered for their purpoſes? have they not

treated

treated the people of other nations in the ſame manner, or ſold and transferred them as beaſts to other maſters? It was the caſe in Venice: Have they not deſtroyed old and free republics to convert them into new, and load them with chains and oppreſſions? It is the caſe in Switzerland. Will Ireland then unite with them to become independent and a republic, that is, to bleed under their chains, guillotines, and tortures? or will ſhe *unite with Great Britain*, to become as *free* as Britain in her *Crown* and *commerce*, in her *Parliament* and *political Relations*; to become as *powerful* as Great Britain herſelf, and, we truſt, a joint inſtrument of Heaven to ſtay the *ſcourge of humanity*?

COMMERCIAL STATE.

Let us now conſider, what is the nature and extent of the commercial advantages of Ireland under her preſent ſyſtem, and what are thoſe derivable from the propoſed ſyſtem of an Union?

Here we ſhall fully and fairly ſee, upon the plain and unequivocal evidence of figures, whether the opinion of all thoſe who oppoſe an Union on the *ground of trade*, is ſound or not, and if their teſtimony be as true and diſintereſted as they pretend.

Since the commerce of Ireland depends on Britiſh connexion, as will obviouſly be ſhown, it is reaſonable to aſk what is this connexion? It is one which ſubſiſts through the Sovereign of both countries being the ſame. But it is aſſerted by Ireland, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, in all their functions, legiſlative and political, are diſtinct and ſeparate from thoſe of Great Britain. Conſequently, whatever is diſtinct, ſeparate, and independent of each other, muſt indiſputably be without contact, and of courſe

courſe without * connexion. Where, then, is the baſis for Iriſh commerce? where the cement to preſerve from diſſolution this ſyſtem of Britiſh conceſſion?

It is true, an Act of Parliament has fixed the Crown of Ireland on the brow of a Britiſh King; but as that King and his Parliament of Ireland are ſeparate and diſtinct in all functions of authority from thoſe of England, this Act of Parliament does not invalidate the conſequences reſulting from their being diſtinct, ſeparate, and independent of each other; namely, that they are indiſputably without contact, and of courſe—without connexion. Beſide, what one Act of Parliament has done, another Act of Parliament can undo. We ſee nothing but confuſion here; yet this is the connexion upon which the commercial exiſtence of Ireland depends: this is the ſtate of ſeparation upon which Britiſh courteſy and Britiſh conceſſion ſtand;—and of what value and extent theſe conceſſions are, in the common commercial calculations of loſs and gain, between the two nations, let us now inquire.

Such

* The fallacy of the preſent relation between Great Britain and Ireland, has been moſt fully and ably diſcuſſed by Lord Grenville, under every poſſible relation of State, Church, Finance, Army, &c. whereby his Lordſhip made it appear, that there was really *No Connexion* between the two countries.

Iriſh Commerce with Great Britain.

(The following ſtatements are founded upon the Public Accounts laid before the Houſe of Lords, 25th of February, 1799, by Thomas Irving, Eſq; Inſpector General of the Revenue.)

1799.

	£.	s.	d.
On an average of four years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, the annual IMPORTS from IRELAND into Great Britain amounted to - - - - - -	2,812,383	5	5

On

On an average of the ſame period the Britiſh and *Foreign exports* to Ireland amounted to - - - - - - - £,733,870 16 9

On an average of three years (the laſt year, 1798, not being yet made out in the account given in), the *imports* from the world amounted to - - - - 26,734,941 11 7

On an average of four years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, the *exports* to the world - - - - - 30,053,664 17 10

Obſerve that the above values are computed agreeably to the ancient eſtimates in the Inſpector General's Office, which eſtimates are upon an average about 70 per cent. beneath the real and preſent value of the articles.

Such is the comparative commerce of Great Britain with Ireland, on a fair average of four years, and of the commerce of Great Britain with the world.——We ſhall now take another view of it under thoſe two heads during the laſt year, whereby the advantages, and diſadvantages will appear beyond the power of contradiction in the ſelf-evidence of figures.

The TOTAL *imports* of 1798 into Great Britain not being yet made out, we ſhall take the value of the preceding year, 1797 - - - £. 21,013,956
Total *exports*, 1798, - £. 33,655,396
Whole trade with the world, - - - £. 54,669,352

Imports from Ireland into Great Britain during 1798, - - £. 2,734,362
Exports during do. to Ireland
Britiſh manufactures - £. 1,676,648
Foreign merchandize, - £. 1,316,218
Whole trade with Ireland, - - - £. 5,727,229

Valued according to the ancient rates, or about 70 per cent. beneath the preſent value.

Thus we ſee clearly what is the value of the Iriſh commerce, and what is the value of the whole commerce of Great Britain. It now remains to conſider the Revenues ariſing

ariſing to Great Britain from theſe reſpective ſources of commerce.

By the Inſpector General's account, it appears that the amount of the revenue of cuſtoms collected from that part of the trade of Great Britain carried on with Ireland, was in the year ending the 5th January, 1799,—47,542 *l.* The amount of the revenue of cuſtoms, collected from the total trade of Great Britain 6,899,835 *l.*

Hence therefore it is obvious and incontrovertible, that, while Ireland enjoys more than a ninth part of the commerce of Great Britain, that commerce, which it might be ſuppoſed would contribute a proportionate (that is a ninth) part to the revenues, does not contribute an hundred and forty-fifth part.

Conſequently, by comparing the Britiſh commerce with Ireland, and with other nations, and by comparing the cuſtoms paid reſpectively by them to Great Britain for that commerce, it appears obviouſly, and beyond the poſſibility of doubt, that Ireland has an advantage over other nations as 145 to nine; a ſuperiority unexampled in all the ſyſtems of jealous commerce ſince time began. For Britain loſes ſo much in her revenues; ſhe has ſacrificed ſo much to foſter and favour Ireland; to elevate her near herſelf in commercial rank, and now ſhe would unite her in her unparalleled greatneſs. She has not only ſacrificed a ſixteen-fold loſs in her public revenues, which ſhe might have gained by the ſame trade with other countries; but, in the view of commercial purchaſe and individual calculation, ſhe pays 25 per cent. more to Ireland for thoſe articles, than ſhe might procure the ſame for from other nations. Therefore, the balance of the account ſtands thus:—the public revenue of Great Britain ſuſtains a loſs in the trade of Ireland, on the comparative proportion of its commerce, as 145 to 9; that is, ſhe receives an hundreth forty-fifth part, where a ninth part is the proportion; or, to make it ſtill

more

more clear, ſhe receives about one thouſand out of every ſixteen thouſand that might be expected. Further, this is not merely ſo much gain to Ireland, but a ſource of *incalculable gain* through its *reſults*, on her productive labours. —It goes however further: the *private* conſumer in Britain pays 25 per cent. more to Ireland than he need pay, were the ſame articles for his conſumption taken from other nations, and which form the *chief* and almoſt entire trade of that country. What then is the additional reſult of this gain throughout its effects on the induſtry of Ireland?

But the advantages of Britiſh commerce to Ireland go ſtill further.

On an average of the three laſt years, the annual imports of the *products* and *manufactures* of Ireland into Great Britain, amounted to 5,510,825 *l.* whereas on a like average, the exports of the *products* and *manufactures* of Great Britain, amounted to but 2,087,672 *l.* Here then is a balance of 3,425,153 *l.* in favour of Ireland, operating upon the great ſyſtem of national induſtry.

But the advantages of Britiſh commerce to Ireland go ſtill further.

Britiſh protection and connexion have opened to Ireland new channels for her manufactures; in return for which ſhe imports foreign articles, and then exports theſe foreign articles to Britain. On an average of the three laſt years, ſhe has ſupplied Britain with foreign commodities to the annual amount of 101,864 *l.* and in return for thoſe ſhe has taken from Britain, articles of the nature of raw materials, which are the elements of internal induſtry in Ireland to the amount of 447,477 *l.*

But the advantages of Britiſh commerce to Ireland go ſtill further. We may, however, be interrupted and aſked —Does not Ireland take, beſide theſe *raw* materials, (which ſhe cannot get elſewhere) the woollen and cotton manufactures of Great Britain? Granted: but it is a feather in the balance

balance of her trade. Let us ſee what is the relative proportion of theſe branches, without comparing them with the whole of her other trade?

Total value of woollen manufactures exported in one year, preceding the 5th of January, 1799, - £. 6,836,603
Ditto to Ireland, - - - - £. 589,723

Thus then without heeding fractions, we may ſay that there is but a *twelfth* part of her woollen manufactures exported to Ireland. Now let us ſee the value of the cottons:

The *Total Export* of cottons during one year preceding the 5th January, 1799, amounted to - £. 3,497,197
Ditto to Ireland - - - - £. 107,293

Thus then the exports to Ireland are about a thirty-ſecond part of the whole. And what has been given for thoſe by Ireland? her native products, and the manufactures of her induſtry. Beſide, where elſe than in Great Britain could thoſe articles of woollen and cotton have been procured, of ſo good a quality, and at ſo cheap a rate? Nowhere on the globe. Whereas the linens taken in return for them could have been procured at a much more moderate rate, from various countries. What proportion, too, does the value of theſe two branches of woollen and cotton bear to the value of Iriſh linens? So little (as will appear hereafter) that Ireland takes further from Britain, in order to make up the balance, and as ſtated by the preſent Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, "Salt for *fiſheries* and *proviſions*; hops, which ſhe *cannot grow*; coals, which ſhe *cannot raiſe*; tin, which ſhe *has not*; and bark which ſhe *cannot get elſewhere*; and all theſe without reſerving *any* duty, or a power to impoſe any on them, though her own ſubjects pay two, three, or four ſhillings a *chaldron* for *coals*,

ſent

ſent coaſtways, and in London ten ſhillings." (Mr. Foſter's ſpeech—Woodfall's report, p. 110). Such is the preſent Speaker's ſtatement of the trade. And as to the foreign produce which ſhe takes from Great Britain, the *whole* during one year ending the 5th January, 1799, amounts to 1,412,504*l.* according to the *real* value, and which ſhe could not poſſibly procure from any other market at ſo moderate a rate. This will be perceived when it is ſtated that four of theſe articles are tea, muſlins, pepper, ſugar, and amount to about 900,000*l.* of the foregoing ſum. But it ſhould not be loſt ſight of, and therefore it may be repeated, that all theſe articles were not only procured in Great Britain cheaper than elſewhere; but were alſo taken in return to balance the extenſive exports of Iriſh products and manufactures. But the advantage of the Britiſh commerce to Ireland goes ſtill further.

It is of ſuch importance, that in Mr. Foſter's words (p. 109) "It is almoſt *neceſſary* to her exiſtence." The linen trade of Ireland is by much the greateſt portion of its commerce—and of that trade, about nine-tenths depend upon *Britain*. What then are the dangers, which menace this trade, without an incorporative Union? They are inevitable ruin. Without political ſeparation, without rebellious commotion, or without civil ſhock in Ireland—commercial conſequences muſt alone diſſolve the trade of that country.

Its own proſperity prepares its death warrant under its preſent relations; every further advance to ſucceſs is a ſtep nearer to the grave.

"The watchfulneſs of Great Britain over her trade and navigation, which conſtitute the ſources of her power and her ſplendor, was ſufficiently marked for Ireland, by the Committee of the Lords of Trade. It was this commercial vigilance that appointed them to inveſtigate the Iriſh *Act for granting* BOUNTIES *on the* EXPORT *of the linen and hempen manufactures*

manufactures of that kingdom, and for repealing the bounties on flax ſeed imported; and for encouraging the growth thereof in that kingdom. For ſo long as the kingdoms are diſtinct and ſeparate, ſave by a parliamentary dependence of one crown upon another, we may reaſonably conclude that Britain will always be awake to her own intereſts, and in obedience to theſe intereſts, will turn the balance of Iriſh trade, by either withdrawing her bounties on Iriſh articles, or diminiſhing the duties on the ſame articles from foreign nations. Thus ſhe can always ſay to the tide of Iriſh commerce, under the preſent connection, "ſo far ſhalt thou go:"—but under an Union, ſhe can never ſay—"*no further.*" Her own intereſts, as well as the terms of the compact, will bar the ſentiment. Whereas, under the exiſting connexion, what was the opinion of Mr. Foſter, p. 108. "The Honourable Gentleman," ſays he, alluding to Mr. Flood) *complains* of the report of the Engliſh Privy Council, who ſay that to put Ireland and England on a footing of *exact reciprocity* as to linens, *Ireland ought* to give a *bounty* on the *exportation* of *Engliſh* linens, becauſe England gives a bounty on the exportation of Iriſh linens.—CAN ANY THING BE MORE JUST?" Such was the ſentence of Mr. Foſter. "Yet, (adds he) England makes *no ſuch demand*, but is ready by this adjuſtment," which is preciſely applicable to this preſent meaſure—"to give additional ſecurity to our LINEN TRADE FOR EVER."

Now, in order to aſcertain what is the power of Great Britain at preſent, over the linen trade of Ireland, we muſt alſo mark what is the influence of her Bounties on that trade; and thus we ſhall clearly ſee how to calculate; firſt, what muſt be the effects of the final adjuſtment of an *Union*, whereby probably all foreign competition in *imports*, and conſequently *exports* with Iriſh linen, would be prohibited; and next, what muſt be the effect of ſucceſs *without* an Union, when commercial conteſts muſt enſue, and "the

war

war * of *bounties*, wherein Ireland cannot cope with Britain?"

Effects of an Union on the Linen Trade.

The effects of an Union, in counteracting foreign competition againſt Iriſh trade, may be viewed through the effects of thoſe Bounties, which have already operated on that competition.

The firſt Bounties on Iriſh linen exported from Great Britain, took place in 1743, and the export under the bounty was,

In the year 1743,	- -	40,907 yards;
——— 1753,	-	1,039,967 ——
——— 1763,	-	2,588,564 ——
——— 1773,	-	2,832,246 ——

This increaſe through bounties has been alſo aided by duties on the import of foreign linens, but theſe duties have certainly operated to the prejudice of the woollen manufactures of Great Britain; as foreign powers conſequently laid on them reciprocal duties and reſtrictions. The effect however of thoſe bounties on Iriſh linens, and of accumulated duties on foreign linens, ſwelled the import of the former conſiderably. For

In 1743 there were imported		6,418,375 yards;
— 1773,	- -	17,876,617 ——
Increaſe		11,458,242 yards.

That this increaſe aroſe from the operation of bounties and duties, will appear obviouſly from the decreaſe in the import and export of foreign linens, compared at the ſame periods.

* Mr. Foſter's ſpeech.

Foreign

Foreign linens *imported* into London and the outports were,

In 1743,	-	15,584,504 ells;
— 1773,	-	8,954,649 —
	Decreaſe	9,629,834 —

Foreign linens *exported* from London, and the outports were,

In 1743,	-	9,894,837 ells;
— 1773,	-	4,385,276 —
	Decreaſe	5,509,561 —

But there is now a ſecond period whereby we may aſcertain the effects of Britiſh *connexion* and *commerce*, as we did in the foregoing period of Britiſh *bounties* and *duties*, in favour of the Iriſh linen trade.

The Iriſh linens exported from Great Britain entitled to bounty, were,

In 1743,	- -	40,907 yards;
— 1773,	- -	2,832,246 —
— 1789,	- -	3,587,848 —
— 1792,	- -	5,598,446 —
— 1795,	- -	7,482,147 —

Here then is an *increaſe* of exports on Iriſh linens, from 40 thouſand yards, to nearly ſeven million and a half in 1795.

The imports of Iriſh linen as we have ſeen were in 1743, above four millions of yards—in 1773 above 17 millions: but,

In 1789,	- -	30,044,960 yards;
— 1791,	- -	36,232,888 —
— 1794,	- -	38,018,102 —
— 1797,	- -	39,869,965* —

* Ireland ſupplies other countries with about four millions of yards; or one-tenth; the other nine depend on Britiſh commerce.

That this aſtoniſhing increaſe, from FOUR *millions* ſcarcely FORTY, has been the effect of the *extended* * commerce of Great Britain will obviouſly appear, ſince the foreign linens have *not decreaſed* during the ſecond period 1789, as they did during the firſt from 1743, as has been juſt ſtated.

The value of foreign linens imported, £.

In 1789,	-	-	433,884
— 1796,	-	-	456,679

Thus we ſee that they *increaſed*, which is in itſelf a proof of the effects of the increaſed commerce of Great Britain; but on the whole, it may be ſaid that they have preſerved their level in the imports. As to the exports, their value was,

			£.
In 1786,	-	-	122,731
— 1796,	-	-	132,822

Here we behold the ſame effects from the ſame cauſes, and the ſame arguments are applicable.

The Iriſh linens have an advantage over the foreign, to the amount of 25 *l.* per cent.——And to this ſyſtem of bounty and duty, they firſt owed their increaſe; and to the unparalleled extenſion of Britiſh commerce, they now owe their extraordinary augmentation.

The linens imported from Ireland, on an average of the three years preceding January 1798, amounted to 2,600,421 *l.*

Whereas the value of foreign linens imported during the ſame period, amounted to but 414,719 *l.*

Of theſe alſo there were exported to the amount of 119,263 *l.*

Therefore there were conſumed in Great Britain; but, 299,456 *l.*

* See Tables D & E.

Whereas

Whereas there were consumed in Great Britain Irish linens to the amount of about 2,410,421 *l.* As on the average of three years, about 190,000 *l.* is exported.

Such is the superiority which the Irish linens have over the foreign in the British market; beside on exportation, the Irish linens enter a foreign market, with all the benefits of a large bounty paid to *them* in Britain, and of English capital which can afford long credit. Whereas foreign linens enter the same market after having left behind them in Britain, a certain part of the duties paid on importation, and after having paid some other custom-house charges; so that before they can be unshipped, there is a disadvantage against them, equivalent to from five to six per cent.

But the importance of British connexion, and the growing magnitude of Irish commerce through that connection, must be obvious to every man who reflects that the TOTAL value of the linen trade in Ireland, was,

	£.
In 1741, - -	480,516
— 1751, - -	751,993
— 1761, - -	803,258
— 1771, - -	1,691,787

Whereas the linen trade, including yarn, with Great Britain alone, upon an average value of the three years ending 1798, amounted to 2,844,402 *l.* If, indeed, the Union which with respect to the linen trade of Ireland, is precisely the same in substance as the adjustment whereon Mr. Foster used those emphatic words, (p. 108) "if it were to take away the benefit of the linen trade from Ireland, it would be a good cause for rejecting it: but as it for ever confirms ALL THE ADVANTAGES we derive from the linen trade, and *binds* England from making *any* laws that can be *injurious* to it: surely gentlemen who regard that trade, and whose *fortunes* and rent depend on its *prosperity*, will not

entertain a *moment's* doubt about EMBRACING THE OFFER." And as the linen trade much exceeds all the reſt of the commerce of Ireland, and as nine-tenths of it depend ſolely upon Britain, what then muſt be the reſult were the ſyſtem of bounties and duties, which conſtitute almoſt the principle of its exiſtence, to receive a ſhock? If the public revenues of Great Britain ſuffer by this ſyſtem, if the private conſumer ſuffers, by paying 25 per cent. more than he need; if the manufactures of Britain ſuffer by reciprocal duties and reſtrictions laid on by foreign nations—*if* the intereſts of Ireland be different, and ſeparate from thoſe of Britain, is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the people of Great Britain will not inſiſt on the ſupport of *her* ſeparate intereſts? They have long and loudly demanded why they ſhould be charged with this 25 per cent. on the conſumption of Iriſh linens; the linen trade, nay, I may ſay, the entire trade of Ireland (as will appear hereafter) muſt be deſtroyed, if this blind policy of ſeparate intereſts be forced upon the Britiſh by the Iriſh nation. Ireland ſhould at leaſt reflect that the Britiſh market would, if the operation of bounties and duties ceaſed, ſoon be cheaply filled, not only with foreign linens, but that Britain herſelf would ſoon ſupply her own market, as in the caſe of the ſail cloth manufacture, *which* Ireland *loſt*. The foreign linens at this moment, with even 25 per cent. againſt them, not only ſupport a competition with the Iriſh linens, but underſell them in ſome branches. Three Provinces of France alſo, which manufacture more linens than all Ireland together, might ſtruggle for this market; but as the home conſumption of Britain would ſoon increaſe, ſo muſt the home produce. And what the extent of this manufacture is in Britain, may be calculated upon the following comparative view of the exports of linens entitled to bounty.

In

	IRISH.	BRITISH.
In 1743,	40,907 yards	- 52,779 yards
— 1753,	1,039,967 ——	- 641,410 ——
— 1763,	2,558,564 ——	- 2,308,310 ——
— 1773,	2,832,246 ——	- 3,279,808 ——

Thus it appears, that while the Iriſh manufacture increaſed from 40 thouſand yards, to two millions, the Britiſh increaſed from 52 thouſand yards, to three millions, leaving out fractions. And this increaſe of the linen manufacture is daily becoming more conſiderable in Great Britain.

The increaſe in the exports of Britiſh linens *not* entitled to bounty, has alſo been as great in value, as that entitled to bounty. And the foreign linens alſo, which pay duties on exportation from Great Britain, have been able, beſide the competition in the Britiſh market, to maintain a competition in the foreign markets with Iriſh linens, which receive a bounty on leaving the Engliſh ports for thoſe markets. Thus, then, ſtands the eaſe of the Iriſh linen manufacture, with the whole ſyſtem of bounties and duties in its favour. But what would follow were that ſyſtem to ceaſe?—Commercial death. And this ſyſtem muſt be broken and deſtroyed, if inſtead of Union ſeparate intereſts exiſts; whereas new force muſt be given to that ſyſtem by Union, and identity of intereſts. One plain and obvious queſtion will ſhew to every man of what importance and benefit an Union muſt be to Ireland. It appears that the principal market for Iriſh linens is Great Britain, and that four-fifths of the quantity imported, and thoſe of the higheſt price, are conſumed there; conſequently the other one-fifth has been exported: Now we aſk, has the *Iriſh* bill of bounties been able to direct the export of this *one-fifth* into her own direct commerce? Surely no ſtronger proof can be adduced

duced of the ſuperior advantages of Britiſh commerce and Britiſh capital; and, conſequently, of an incorporative Union, with all thoſe advantages. For, though the Iriſh exporter has at preſent an obvious ſuperiority over the Engliſh one (which is the caſe, though the bounties in both countries be equal) of five and a half per cent. paid for freightage, commiſſion, warehouſing, wharfaging, and other incidents attendant on the import of Iriſh linens into the Britiſh ports, for the purpoſe of export from thence; ſtill there is not a decreaſe, but an aſtoniſhing *increaſe* in the exports of Iriſh linens *from Great Britain*. Even in the laſt year, which was a confuſed period of rebellion, the increaſe above the preceding year, amounted to 149,059*l.* This then, is an obvious teſt of the effects of capital, which can afford long credit—of well aſſorted cargoes, of India goods, foreign linens, Manchester, Birmingham, Norwich and Sheffield manufactures; all of which have reſiſted the operative advantage of five and a half per cent. in favour of the Iriſh exporter. Since here, then, is an unequivocal and clear conviction of the benefits of *Engliſh* trade, it may be aſked—Is Ireland diſpoſed to ſurrender thoſe benefits at home and abroad, or to ſecure them for ever?

Thoſe advantages are no leſs numerous and extenſive, than they are ſingular in their nature. For, in order to eſtabliſh a reciprocity, "Ireland *ought* to give a bounty on the exportation of Engliſh linens, becauſe England gives a bounty on the exportation of Iriſh linens."—*Can any thing be more juſt?* ſaid Mr. Foſter. But what is actually the caſe? The annual bounties paid to Ireland by England, on an average of the four laſt years, amounted to 34,000*l.*; and the annual revenues from the trade of Ireland, during the ſame period, amounted to 40,000*l.*: therefore, the annual balance for the gain of the Britiſh revenue, or for the ninth part of its trade, was 6,000*l.*, which bears a proportion to its whole revenue, during that period, (5,734,525*l.*) as one

to

to 850. Thus then England obtains one, where eight hundred and fifty are its due: such is the rate of *favour* above other nations, or of benefit to Ireland arising from *British bounties*. And further: the benefit obtained by Ireland from the loss sustained in the *British revenues*, amounts to above 700,000 *l. per ann:* which Britain must receive, were Irish linens taxed equally with those of foreign countries. These extraordinary advantages however, Ireland cannot hold under the present system of things. Not only separate interests must pruduce a separation of connexion, but without separation of connexion, this commercial system so long and loudly murmured against in England, must finally be dissolved, and consequently the trade of Ireland be no more.

Commercial effects without an Union.

One of two events must follow, *without an union*; either Ireland will sink under the *ruin* of the present commercial system, or under the *success* of it.

The *ruin* of it will be founded on the loss to the public revenues of Great Britain; on the advanced price paid by the private consumers in Great Britain; on the detriment to the general manufactures of Great Britain; on the universal murmurs in Great Britain; and hence that "war of *bounties*," predicted by Mr. Foster, and the inevitable dissolution of the system, because the interests of both countries are not *one and the same*.

The further *success* of Irish commerce, under the present system, also unfolds the inevitable *ruin* of this system, and that success is tolerably evident. For, notwithstanding the enumerated causes of *English* success, contrary to the Irish Bill of Bounties, are as so many embarrassments which bear upon the Irish exports; however, means of palliating them will gradually develop themselves; and it must unavoidably ensue, that an existing operative advan-

tage

tage in favour of any branch of trade, will ultimately, though perhaps not rapidly, effectuate its eſtabliſhment.

What then muſt follow? The commercial intercourſe between the two countries muſt be ruined by a *ſucceſs* which will operate to the diminution of the export trade of Great Britain, to the diminution of the returns of that trade; and conſequently to the prejudice of her navigation and commercial intereſt in general. For can it reaſonably be ſuppoſed that one nation will uphold another, by foſtering its trade at an immenſe expenſe to herſelf and her ſubjects, and at a loſs to her revenues and manufactures, her navigation, and commercial intereſts?—No: Ireland is too juſt.——— Or, can ſuch a trade be continued, while the intereſt of the two countries claſh, and inſiſted on as ſeparate, are made to war for ſeparation? No: Britain is too wiſe. Let the Iriſh well obſerve that the Lords of Trade have conſidered ſuch a revulſion of commerce, as that juſt pointed out and provided againſt it. They have told the committee of council "that in ſuch a caſe, a *reduction* in the duties on *foreign* linens MUST take place; that the kingdom of Great Britain would thus be enabled to ſupply herſelf as cheaply as ever; that ſhe would do it with *advantage* to the *revenue*; and that ſhe would probably too obtain *larger* conſumption of *her woollen manufactures*, and *other goods* upon the continent of Europe."

But ſuppoſe that ſuch miſchiefs to the navigation and commerce of Great Britain were not to enſue, at leaſt ſuddenly, or to a great extent; *ſucceſs* in commerce is, however, a death-blow to the linen trade of Ireland, under her *ſubſiſting* connexion with Great Britain: for, the conſequences of improving commerce, is increaſed opulence. The conſequence of increaſed opulence is increaſed price of land, proviſions, labour, and conſequently manufactures. Therefore, as ſoon as the price of linen be augmented, its importation into Great Britain will decline, and that of foreign

reign linens proportionately increaſe, *without any lowering* of the duties. *Now* the foreign linens are able to ſtand the market with Iriſh linens; *then* they would beat them out. The import of fine linens for home conſumption, would ſuffer particularly; the import of table linen, &c. would be wholly loſt: and if the low-priced linens ſhould take another channel by direct export from Ireland, then, through want of a ſuitable aſſortment for the Engliſh market, all the branches of the Iriſh trade would be conſiderably diminiſhed in their imports into Great Britain. This would unqueſtionably follow, *without* reducing the duties on foreign linens. And, as to the Bounties on Britiſh linens, either they muſt be *continued*, or they muſt be *changed*. If they be continued, inaſmuch as the demand for the Iriſh branch of the trade diminiſhes, that for the Engliſh muſt increaſe: this demand increaſing, the produce will increaſe proportionately, and then the ſame reſults will follow, as formerly, in the ſail cloth branch: For it ſhould be remarked by the Iriſh, that, though Great Britain is at this moment ſubject to great diſadvantages in the linen trade, yet ſhe is ſuppoſed to manufacture more than is exported from Ireland: conſequently, ſhe is in that improved ſtate of the buſineſs, that it requires but mere will to advance rapidly; and this muſt reſult from any further *ſucceſs* of Iriſh commerce, under the *continuance* of Britiſh Bounties. But, on the other hand, can it be required that theſe Bounties ſhould be *changed*; that is, that they ſhould be raiſed for the *benefit* of Ireland, in order to *check* the foreign imports, and conſequently charge the Britiſh conſumer with the *double* increaſe, of foreign duty and Iriſh price, to diminiſh the public revenues; to injure the national manufactures; and to violate all the principles of commercial policy? Yet, if this be not done, the *ſucceſs* of Iriſh commerce, is the tomb of its linen trade.

What

What then muſt follow *without Union?* Waving the certainty of ſeparation and ruin from political and civil cauſes, either Ireland muſt remain as it is, with one ſolitary manufacture, which cannot be improved; and with an unfortunate peaſantry, who are not virtuous, becauſe they are NOT HAPPY, but are ſeduced into ſedition through poverty, and afterwards made tools of rebellion through deſpair. Or, in the next place, ſhould Ireland be ſucceſsful in commerce, then that very ſucceſs becomes ſelf-deſtruction, under the exiſting ſyſtem, and the doctrine of ſeparate intereſts.

The friends of Ireland therefore, will do well to conſider a plain and ſimple ſtatement ariſing from the two views, which we have taken of its commerce.—Ireland, without an incorporative Union, ſtands expoſed to private poverty —to public calamities—to deſperate and immoral convulſions—to SEPARATION. Ireland, without an incorporative Union, is barred by her DEPENDANCE on ENGLISH BOUNTY, and by the power of Great Britain over that bounty, from attaining any high eminence in commerce. Or we ſhall ſuppoſe, againſt all probability, that Ireland, without Union, may become ſucceſsful in commerce: therefore, in ſo much muſt ſhe injure the trade and navigation of Great Britain in all its direct conſequences, and all its collateral relations: and conſequently, their commercial intercourſe muſt be hazarded, their concord broken, and their preſent connexion be diſſolved. Or finally, ſuppoſe the connexion be not thus hazarded, and that ſhe be ſucceſsful;—then, ſince the intereſts of both countries are not one and the ſame, irreparable miſchiefs muſt enſue to Ireland; its trade will be loſt by a very *ſmall riſe* upon her commodities, that *muſt* follow her ſucceſs; for Great Britain will not, on the principle of ſeparate intereſts, and on the claims of her manufacturers, and on the grounds of commercial policy, *increaſe* her bounties; Ireland, therefore, muſt fall from a pinnacle not lofty, into ruin the moſt profound!

However,

However, that we may aſcertain fully, what ſhe muſt ſuffer, by the *loſs* of Britiſh trade, either through *ſeparation*, which muſt follow *non-incorporation* of parliaments and intereſts, or through the conſequences of *ſucceſs without* incorporation; and further what ſhe may *gain* by an incorporation of legiſlatures and intereſts, let us review the ſtate of her whole commerce. And in order to inveſtigate this matter fairly, we ſhall not take a *ſingle* year, but an average of three years; whereby we may ſee, beyond doubt or deception, what is the real nature and full extent of the Iriſh commerce with Great Britain.

On an average of the LAST *three Years.*

CATTLE TRADE.

	£.
Cows and oxen, 6*l.* each,	144,550
Horſes, 10*l.* each,	13,610
Swine, 30*s.* each,	10,181
	168,242

CORN TRADE.

Barley, 17*s.* per quarter,	17,579
Oats, 14*s.* per ditto,	205,391
Oatmeal, 7*s.* 6*d.* per boll,	24,884
Wheat, 40*s.* per quarter,	35,436
Flour,	5,710
	289,000

PROVISION TRADE.

Beef, 3*l.* 15*s.* per barrel,	388,522
Butter, 3*l.* 10*s.* per cwt.	784,654
Pork, 3*l.* 15*s.* per barrel,	674,981
Bacon, 2*l.* 5*s.* per cwt.	106,056
	1,954,213

LINEN

LINEN TRADE.

Plain ſhirting and ſheeting, at 1 *s.* 5 *d.* per yard, -	2,600,101
Other linens, - - - - - - -	320
Linen yarn (raw) - - - - - -	243,981
	2,844,402

TOTALS.

Cattle, - - -	168,242
Corn, - - -	289,000
Proviſion, - - -	1,954,213
	2,411,455

Thus it appears that on the average of 1796, 1797, 1798, the linen trade alone amounted to 2,844,402 *l.*

While all the branches of proviſion, corn, and cattle, produced 2,411,455 *l.*

* Therefore the linen trade alone exceeds all theſe, by 432,947 *l.*

And as her whole produce and manufactures imported amount on the ſame average to 5,510,825 *l.*

And as her cattle, corn, proviſion, and linen trade, which ſhe could not find a market for but in England, amount to 5,255,857 *l.*

Conſequently there remains out of her whole trade, for which ſhe might perhaps find another market beſide Great Britain, 254,968 *l.*

It muſt alſo be obſerved, that there are articles of *foreign* produce, for which probably ſhe would not find a *foreign* market, but which Great Britain now takes from her, with her other imports, to the amount of 101,864 *l.*

Therefore, it may with great truth be aſſerted,† that *the commercial exiſtence of Ireland depends upon Great Britain.*

The advantages might appear more ſtriking, were we to detail the Iriſh articles favoured by Great Britain on *importation*, and the Britiſh articles favoured by Great Bri-

* Her linen trade alone is more than all the other branches collectively, carried on with domeſtic and foreign produce.

† See Mr. Foſter's Speech.

tain

tain on *exportation* to Ireland. This, however, ſhall be only given in ſome inſtances, that we may not intrude too much upon the reader's attemtion.—Bacon is admitted into Engliſh ports FREE, from Ireland—from other countries it pays 2 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* per hundred weight: Beef *free*, from Ireland; and from other countries PROHIBITED—Cattle in *like* manner. Linens FREE, from Ireland—from other countries 25 *l.* per cent. We ſhall not enumerate any more of the *imports*, but ſpecify a few of thoſe favoured on exportation to Ireland—Coals, 1 *s.* 2 *d.* the chaldron—to any other place in Britiſh ſhips, 15 *s.* 5 *d.*—and in foreign ſhips, 1 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.*—Sugars in loaves, 1 *l.* 6 *s.* per hundred weight Bounty, when *deſtined* to foreign countries, &c. &c.—Goods *permitted* to Ireland, but PROHIBITED to other countries,—Coin of gold and ſilver.—Tools or utenſils in the cotton, linen, woollen, ſilk, iron, and ſteel manufactures, &c. &c. Beſide *all Bounties* given by *Parliament*, on *Britiſh ſhips* in the Greenland fiſhery, are allowed to *ſhips* from *Ireland*. And ſhips from Ireland are allowed *all the numerous* privileges of Britiſh ſhips.

Thus we have obviouſly before us the nature and extent of the Iriſh commerce with Great Britain, which conſtitutes almoſt the whole of its trade,—we ſee alſo what has been its wonderful increaſe, and the cauſes of that increaſe; firſt, the *repulſe* given to its competitors, by accumulated *duties*, and the *ſupport* given to Ireland by extenſive *bounties*; though both operate to the loſs of the Britiſh revenue, the expenſe of the Britiſh conſumer, and the injury of Britiſh manufactures.—In the ſecond place, we obſerve, that the cauſe of this increaſe of Iriſh trade, is the unparalleled and aſtoniſhing extenſion of Britiſh commerce. (See Table, E.)———We behold alſo, that while Ireland by her connection enjoys more than a ninth part of that commerce, Britain does not derive a ninth part of the cuſtoms, but a 145th part—that is, ſhe favours her above other nations,

and

and to her own disadvantage, in the proportion of 145 to 9, —Hereby Great Britain sustains a sixteen-fold loss, and gives Ireland a sixteen-fold gain, or infinitely more in the results.—She now offers Ireland further, the key of her treasures, and the security and increase of that commerce,—to clothe the naked peasants of that country, feed their hungry offspring, and give their families comfortable dwellings.—But it is said they are indolent. And why are they indolent? From moral effects, which we could easily trace, to civil causes, that must wither under the influence of the Union. Be it granted, however, that they are indolent: but are they not indigent? Is the severity of labour softened by due rewards? For if they be *thus* indigent, they must be idle. The case is ever the same, where labour and industry are not animated by proportionate returns.—It is true policy, and alone true, which supports a reciprocal advantage; which rouses, animates, and spreads abroad, a spirit of industry amongst the poor;—let us be assured, that the happiness of mankind is at once a liberal and a selfish principle.

It appears throughout the commercial support given by Great Britain, for the amelioration of the state of the labourers and manufacturers of Ireland, that there is a balance of nearly four millions annually, for the direct produce of the lands, and their labour. Great Britain invites forth, animates and remunerates Irish industry by 5,620,825*l.* per annum; whereas the British peasantry and manufacturers receive in return from Ireland but 2,087,672*l.*

She holds out also to the industrious manufacturers of Ireland, all the improvements of genius and discoveries in the arts, to facilitate their skill, their success, and opulence, —while she prohibits this communication to other nations around her.

She

She even renders leſs detrimental to the poor of Ireland the luxuries of the rich, by ſupplying, at a cheaper rate than it could be procured elſewhere, that quantum of foreign productions which indulgence deems neceſſary.

She pays the manufacturers of Ireland 25 per cent. more for their linens, than ſhe could purchaſe them for from others.

She has, by her wiſe and liberal protection, foſtered this great trade of Ireland, in ſo much, that ſhe has augmented induſtry amongſt its manufacturers ten fold.

She has thrown open her ports, free, for the produce of Ireland; while ſhe has prohibited the like articles from other countries.

She ſupplies the wants of Ireland, at a leſs revenue, than ſhe ſupplies the wants of her *own natives*. She imparts to her almoſt the neceſſaries for commercial exiſtence. She gives her the means of carrying on her manufactures, and of vending her manufactures; and ſhe ſends her the raw materials, theſe elements of her induſtry, while ſhe ſtrictly refuſes them to other nations.

She has thrown open to Ireland, the commerce of the world: And, as it is trade and commerce that have broken the iron yoke of bondage in other countries; ſo they will in Ireland exalt the humble, and bring down the high, to that point of civil morality, where BOTH will be happy.

But is this large cup of bleſſings which is preparing both for the poor and rich of Ireland, to be daſhed by the wickedneſs of cabal, or weakneſs of party? There is a ſtandard whereby we can meaſure ſound policy, and it is an unequivocal one;—it is 'facts'; againſt which all aſſertions are but an idle waſte of words. Then to theſe *facts* we appeal:—Are the *peaſants of Ireland* BADLY CLOTHED, ILL FED, and WORSE LODGED than the peaſants of *any part* of Europe? It is aſſerted by numbers that *they are*. And whence this? Is it owing to the *form* of Government? No—

It

It is the *British form of Government*, and none can ſurpaſs it. Is it owing to the *climate*? No; none is more happy. Is it owing to the *ſoil*? No; none is more fertile. Is it owing to the *nature* of the individuals? No; for, by nature, none are more active, more zealous, or more ſtrong. To what, then, is it owing?—To *practical* defects in the political, commercial, and civil ſtate; which can never be remedied, but by an Union alone—and without which, all that is now good in the ſtate of Ireland, muſt be diminiſhed and gradually loſt; and all that is evil retained and gradually increaſed, until civil diſſolution follows.

It is a really a blind policy which has purſued ſeparate intereſts in the civil community of Ireland, but it is ſomething worſe which would now purſue them in the two great political communities of the Empire.

If this doctrine of ſeparate intereſts prevails, the merchants, artificers, landholders, farmers, and cultivators of Ireland muſt be ruined. However, before miſconception, or worſe ambition ſacrifice ſo many victims, let men pauſe! Let them conſider well before they refuſe to eſtabliſh as a right, that commerce which is now a courteſy. In reality, they are deſtroying every poſſibility of its continuance, even as a courteſy, when they may convert it into a laſting ſecurity.

But they aſſert, that the miniſter's object, in this meaſure, is taxation—That no taxes will or can bear upon the poor of Ireland, we have already * ſhown beyond the power of diſpute. And upon other claſſes, only a certain portion will be fixed; beyond which portion, no power of taxation can go, let the increaſe of the ſources of revenue be ever ſo great, without a total diſſolution of the compact of Union. Ireland, moſt certainly, will be rendered *rich* and *productive* by *commerce*, but *cannot*, under *the Union*, be rendered *poor* by taxation.

* See Union or Separation, p. 5.

Beſide

Beſide, the preſent commercial ſyſtem between the two countries cannot hold *without* an *Union*; it is altogether impoſſible. The Members of the Houſe of Commons, who are concerned with the great manufacturing places, urge loudly* that there is no reciprocity:—for, Engliſh manufactures are loaded with duties, while Iriſh manufactures are not only exempted from them, but are encouraged by Bounties, to the domeſtic coſt of the people of England, and to the detriment of their foreign trade. The revenue foregoes, as has been ſhewn, above 700,000 *l.* per ann. in the duties which are *not* levied on Iriſh linen; and the ſubjects of Great Britain pay at leaſt a million more for their linens, than they might do if the importation of foreign linens were on an equal footing with thoſe of Ireland. Is it reaſonable, in policy or conſcience, to ſuppoſe that they will thus give their treaſure to Ireland, and for the purpoſe perhaps, of ſeparation, or for the benefit of an enemy, againſt whom they protect Ireland even with their blood?—In ſome future moment of wanton pride and accumulated power, Ireland might conceive her exiſting connexion inſulting, and ſeparate.

Beſide thoſe arguments for Union on the part of Britain, ſurely on the part of Ireland, if ſhe wants induſtry, as has been urged, and wants capital, as is known—where can theſe be found, but in Union with Britain? Without the connexion of ſome other ſtate, Ireland CANNOT exiſt—and unleſs that connexion be Britiſh *Union*, ſhe cannot exiſt as a commercial Nation: for, if Britain, impelled by the motives already ſtated, ſuppreſs a trade in thoſe commodities whereby ſhe can raiſe the value of her own; and if the exports from Ireland to Great Britain be diſcouraged, as the exports from England to Ireland: what muſt become of the Iriſh trade?—Can ſhe turn for a market to Ruſſia, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Poland, France, Spain?

* See Mr. Peel's Speech on the Union.

Where will she find vent for her linens, cattle and corn? Can she undertake an East India trade, and for those articles? Can she, in this abandoned and impoverished state drive a West India trade, when she cannot even * now? —Will she look for encouragement to America?—Will she turn for the lost trade to Africa?—There is demonstrably no security, no resource, for the vent of her products and manufactures over the globe, but through Britain; because, whether they be natural or artificial, the other nations of the earth can furnish them cheaper. What then must follow if Ireland were separated and independent? She might sink into her Brehon barbarity, † or fall back into that Gothic government, characterized by feuds, murders, and depredations.

We have before shewn‡ the absurd and short-sighted fears of Dublin.—Wherever commerce is accumulated, its influence must pervade the whole country, animating industry into life and action. It is certainly true that the trade of Dublin is now greater than that of any other commercial place in Ireland; but it by no means follows that it will not preserve the same proportion in the increase, which it now holds in the present partition of commerce §. But if it

* Notwithstanding the free trade of Ireland, she has not faculty to carry it on. Britain supplies her with seven-eighths of her West Indian consumption.

† The *Brehon* Law was the ancient code of the Irish; whereby murder, treason and robbery were punished with a *Fine*, which was called an *Eriche*.

‡ See *Union or Separation*.

§ Present state of trade, by a view of the tonnage 1797.

Belfast - - -	4,630 Tons.
Cork - - -	4,904
Youghal - - -	6,434
Galway - - -	1,353
Dublin - - -	15,092

While

it did not, is the whole nation to be ſacrificed to a part? In fact, however, that part muſt be benefited by the whole; the capital is as the heart through which the blood muſt flow.

But unhappily throughout the courſe of public affairs in Ireland, the higheſt points of general intereſt have been ſacrificed to particular views. The principles have been partial, and the calculations founded upon the arithmetic of *ſelf*. It is ſurely ſufficient, however, if particular views be ſuffered to produce particular injuries; but what Machiavel will aſſert that a whole nation, and all its people,—that a whole empire, and all its ſubjects—that all Europe perhaps, nay the globe itſelf, ſhould be delivered to deſtruction, for the ſake of individuals, whoſe deſigning ambition has duped ſome, or whoſe ill founded authority may have impoſed upon others? The exiſtence of the whole nation of Ireland, the blood, the ſubſiſtence of its people, their already indifferent food and worſe raiment, are about to be ſacrificed by ſuch ſuperabundant zeal. If theſe men be ſo ardent for *public* good, in God's name, why are the peaſantry and mechanics of Ireland ſo long ſuffered to remain in the ſame ſtate? Surely, where the complaints have been ſo long and ſo loud, on the condition of the lower claſs in Ireland, ſome ſafe and radical remedy ſhould be adopted. And ſince thoſe complaints have come down, detailed to us by ſuch authority as that of Sir John Davies, from the time of Henry II.; as of Swift, from the time of the Revolution; and of Adam Smith, and Dean Tucker in our own times; and ſince, whether

	Tons.
While the total tonnage of Ireland (1797), was	53,181
That of London alone was	449,017
That even of Newcaſtle	128,294
But while the tonnage of Ireland was, in 1797, but,	53,181
That of the Empire was	1,565,651

By this we may eſtimate the capital that each brings into a joint commercial ſtock if they unite.

whether the complaints of the people of Ireland be true or falſe, they have been uniformly the paſſage to their paſſions, to make them pioneers of *Rebellion*; were it not wiſe, on the part of the high and powerful in Ireland, to cloſe this avenue for ever, by the conſequences of Union? Were it not wiſe both for the exalted and the humble, to ſilence for ever ſuch complaints, as that "when Eſau came fainting "from the field, and at the point to die, he ſold his birth-"right for a meſs of pottage."—Were it not wiſe to check too long continued emigrations,* by checking the cauſes, if real, and by checking the complaints, if artificial, and both by the conſequences of an Union?

The zeal of humble induſtry, and the ſplendor of exalted talents, have paſſed from Ireland into foreign lands, to eat even the bread of honeſt and independent poverty among an unoppreſſed people. We do not ſay however that the people of Ireland were oppreſſed by the Government. We proteſt againſt the aſſertion. The barbarous ſpirit of feudal times looked *down* upon the cottage, and looked *above* the throne; therefore the government was governed, and the ſubjects were vaſſals. But as commerce enriched, and knowledge enlightened mankind, the lordly yoke of feudal tyranny has been broken throughout Europe, kings freed from ſlavery, and people from oppreſſion. Thus, through *commerce*, will the barbarous ſpirit of feudal power finally depart from Ireland, and the old and corrupt body of civil defects find a ſepulchre in the Union.

With its preſent boaſted trade, however, the lower claſſes of Ireland are poor, as will hereafter be ſhewn on parliamentary authority, beyond human condition in other countries:

* The emigrations from Ireland have not ceaſed ſince Swift's time. In the year 1797, families to the amount of ſome hundreds paſſed over to America.

tries: it is evident, therefore, that the trade is not yet extenſive enough to reach the poor. And as that boaſted trade may periſh at the nod of Britain, the queſtion is, Will the Iriſh reject at once, not only ſecurity for that trade, and the means of its unbounded extenſion through Engliſh capital, ſkill, and commerce; but all the *incalculable benefits* of an UNION upon the WHOLE BODY of the Iriſh nation?

It is this Union that will bring comforts to the people, and convert the bogs of Ireland into ſmiling corn fields and meadows; that will clothe her naked mountains with woods; dig her mines, and explore her treaſures; cut her canals to convey them to the ocean; pour forth abundance from her now half-cultivated fields; and, inſtead of herds of cattle, raiſe up numerous and induſtrious bodies of men. Thus, as remarked by the able and eloquent Biſhop of Landaff, *Ireland* will be *enriched*, and England *not impoveriſhed*, but the empire be increaſed in opulence and ſtrength. Sixty millions of acres, ſo fertile by nature, if improved by art, will maintain much more than thirty millions of men: out of theſe thirty millions, five millions may bear arms; and out of theſe five millions, one million may be always in arms without prejudice to agriculture or commerce, to protect the other twenty-nine millions in peace and induſtry. With ſuch a body of united Britons, with the commerce reſulting from this Union, with a navy thus ſupported, with riches and reſources thus ſecured, with ſuch ſtrength from Nature and from *Union*, we may bid defiance to the world. Then we may look down in calm and ſupreme dignity upon the little diſputes and wars of Continental Princes, wholly unintereſted in their artificial balance of power. Our confederacy will be then at home—in Union: our balance of power will be then—the population, the riches, the reſources of Great and United Britain. God and Nature have befriended us much; and, unleſs we be *enemies* to *our-*

ſelves,

ſelves, we may be the happieſt and ſtrongeſt empire in the world—INVINCIBLE.

At a moment, then, when a deſolating fiend ſtalks over the earth, ravaging all ſtates and conditions, ſhould we not *unite* againſt this monſter? It has however been gravely advanced in Ireland, that connexion with Britain is an advantage, but Union deſtruction. If Britiſh connexion be an advantage, Union, which is but cloſer and ſtronger connexion, muſt be cloſer and ſtronger advantage: unleſs Britain be conſidered as a phyſical body in flames, whoſe warmth is genial at a diſtance, but which burns by contact, and conſumes by Union. Is this however the caſe? Ireland is in truth, as was eloquently deſcribed by the able Prelate whom we have juſt quoted, a graff, which has juſt grown up and flouriſhed on the Britiſh ſtock: ſeparate it, and it will neither ſtrike root downwards nor bear fruit upwards, but will wither under the ſhadow of the Britiſh oak, or be poiſoned by the peſtilential vapours of the tree of liberty.—Unite it then with Britain, and it will become a ſound and vigorous limb of the empire; unite it with France, and it will become a poor ſhrivelled excreſcence, which will be cut off as caprice or convenience points out.

CIVIL STATE.

This point of national Policy may be conſidered in two views: Firſt, with reſpect to civil, next with reſpect to moral economy. Civil economy comprehends the ſupport of individuals, and conſequently of a State: moral economy regards religion or the manners of a People.

Firſt:

First: the ſyſtem of civil œconomy which regulates the ſupport of the great body of individuals of Ireland, is obvious as to its nature by its conſequences. A ſtatement was made to the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, and which was before cited, (p. 10 Union or Separation) that "out of *three millions*, there are *two millions one hundred thouſand excuſed* on account of *poverty* from paying yearly *four-pence* each to *the State.*" Where there is ſuch perſonal poverty, the ſtate muſt ever be in danger, through diſſatisfaction within, and want of ſupport and power without.

Having clearly before us, at this awful period, the nature and conſequences of this ſyſtem, we have been led to conſider what is the remedy for this civil condition. Our ſolemn and deliberate opinion is, that there is no other remedy whatever, but an Incorporate Union.

As to Utopian cups with the waters of *forgetfulneſs*, preſcribed by ſome men, they muſt have certainly been emptied by themſelves. Such men reaſon upon topics without remembering theſe particular and important circumſtances, which totally change the nature of a caſe. And while ſome reaſon too generally, others reaſon too particularly; ſuch, for inſtance, are foreign and domeſtic Traders, who look not beyond local or perſonal concerns, and never enter into a combination for the general benefit of national commerce; and, next, Political Traders, who conſult only for themſelves, and not for the Public at large.

Hence the crude abſurdities and groſs miſrepreſentations, which have been diffuſed upon this occaſion. They are too numerous for any one man to undertake to expoſe them; and they are indeed too glaring to require it. The authors and abetters, however, of all manner of villainy could not have found more zealous dupes or more apt inſtruments for the projected ruin of mankind in a Nation.—But if it be true, as Swift ſaid, that "general calamities are allowed to be the great UNITERS of mankind," we have ſolid ground

for

for hope. The individual and public condition in Ireland, and the general calamity which has defolated Europe and menaced the globe, will upon this reaſoning cauſe the Empire to be united, conſolidated, and ſtrengthened. With reſpect to Ireland, is it not a glorious and honourable invigoration which reſults from private poverty being changed into public opulence, and individual abjection into National elevation? "The picture," ſaid Mr. Dundas, "which I draw of Ireland, is of a gloomy and *lamentable* aſpect; but, in proportion as it is ſo, it becomes the duty of every well-wiſher to both countries to deviſe ſome remedy by which he may deſtroy the hopes of the enemy, and give *new life* and *new vigour* to the Siſter Kingdom." For independent of *commercial* advantages through increaſed capital and ſkill; independent of *civil* advantages through *improved agriculture* and *manners*; independent of *improved induſtry and condition*, and the termination of *civil feuds*; independent of all thoſe advantages, the queſtion is, as Mr. Pitt ſtated it, *not what Ireland is to* GAIN, *but what ſhe is to* PRESERVE; not *merely how ſhe may beſt improve her ſituation*, but *how ſhe is to avert* a preſſing and *immediate danger*." When the aſſaſſin lifts his knife, the firſt act is, Natural impulſe, for inſtant ſafety: the next is, ſound thought, for future ſecurity. Rob nature, however, of this impulſe againſt domeſtic traitors in Ireland; ſtrip the mind of this thought for ſecurity againſt a rapacious foe, who had declared war againſt Kings and enſlaves all Republics; remove all thoſe loud pleas on the preſent occaſion,—and excluſive of ſuch inevitable dangers, if the two countries do *not* unite, they *muſt* ſeparate: and ruin follows. Whereas let the two countries unite, and if reaſon, founded upon wiſe experience, have any claim on certainty, it may be maintained as a truth, that a termination of Civil miſery in Ireland will enſue from Union, and a rapid growth of individual opulence augment the ſtock of National happineſs, common

power,

power, and imperial ſtrength. Thus then ſhe may deſpiſe every foreign danger, and enjoy and purſue her domeſtic improvement.

According to the acknowledged* principles of Civil oeconomy, it is agreed that, for the advantage of individuals, and conſequently of the State, for it is impoſſible to ſeparate them, each labourer ſhould be enabled to rear four children.—Whatever therefore is the average weekly expenſe of ſupplying five individuals with comfortable dreſs, dwelling, and diet, ſhould be the earning of the father of a labouring family. If the weekly expenſe be valued at two ſhillings each, his labour ſhould procure ten; for, the mother's work is computed to be equal to her own ſupport. Theſe being the principles univerſally received in the ſyſtems of Civil oeconomy for the good of the individual and of the State, it may fairly be aſked, do the fathers of labouring families in Ireland earn ten ſhillings each? For we believe no individual can have comfortable dreſs, dwelling, and diet, under two ſhillings on an average per week. This point we ſhall not puſh farther. Without laying open the wound more deeply, we have no doubt but an Union will radically heal it.

The ſame ſtandard hold goods not only for all places, but all perſons concerned in induſtry and the arts; marking that due gradation, whereby remunerations and rewards riſe with the rank of talents or employment.

With reſpect to Farmers, their portion is accurately aſcertained, which is to reward their ſkill or application. It is two-thirds of the price of the produce of the land: one belongs to thoſe who live by rent, or the proprietors: another third belongs to thoſe who live by wages, or is for general cultivation: and the other third is for thoſe who live by profit and ſtock, or the farmers. The two laſt thirds therefore

* Cantillon, Lord Chief Juſtice Hale, King, Davenant, Adam Smith, &c.

therefore are the farmer's portion, for himſelf, for his labourers, and for his expenſes. Such being the principles univerſally adopted as wiſe and juſt, after ages of experience, it may not be unfair to aſk, does this ſyſtem prevail in Ireland? Does the farmer who cultivates a conſiderable tract of land, or the cottager who tills a ſingle acre or a ſingle rood of potatoes, does he receive two thirds of the value of the produce? If the potatoes of the cottager be worth three pounds, is the landlord ſatisfied with one pound for his rent? If not, he violates the firſt principle of Civil œconomy, he is unwiſe towards the ſtate and himſelf, and he is highly unjuſt toward the cottager his tenant. That this ſyſtem, however, will grow out of the conſequences of an Union, there can be no doubt; and that it muſt be for the advantage not only of the lower order but the upper orders of men we refer to demonſtration and experience in Britain and elſewhere.

The reaſon too is obvious. Liberal rewards invite induſtry: induſtry promotes population: and population and induſtry increaſe each other. For as the liberal wages and rewards of induſtry produce plenty, plenty gives ſubſiſtence and invites population; and increaſed population demands increaſed ſubſiſtence and forces induſtry. Thus it is that the wiſe and juſt returns of labour, giving plenty and ſtrength, promote induſtry and population; and, giving animation and a hope of bettering man's condition, rouſe the peaſant, the farmer, or the manufacturer, to exert his ſtrength, or ſtretch his talents to the utmoſt. And then the charge of indolence and indigence is haard no more.

However, where there is not much agriculture in a country, little ſtock for trade, and a tolerable population, the wages will, through competition, be low, and the people be partly idle, or emigrate. But it muſt be granted that Ireland is not populous, though its tendency to population is extraordinary and unequalled in Europe. For, when Sir William

William Petty wrote his Political Arithmetic, he ſaid "England is *five* times better peopled than Ireland." Had therefore the progreſſion of population been *equal* in both countries ſince that period, ſince Ireland contains at this moment above four millions of people, and England is one-third larger, the latter ſhould have at leaſt twenty-ſeven millions: and as the population of England falls ſhort of this, in the ſame relative proportion has the population of Ireland gained upon that of England. Still, however, Ireland is not populous in proportion to the actual number it may have, but to the numbers it can feed. And what a view might be given here of the natural capacities of Ireland in ſoil, now neglected; in fiſheries, ſomewhat known but little heeded; and in poſition on the globe, not to be ſurpaſſed for the great benefits of commerce. It is to draw all theſe wonderful reſources into action, that we anxiouſly ſupport an Union: for that nation poſſeſſes means of opulence, power, and conſequence, which have been too long and ſhamefully neglected. If men, however, be wiſe at this moment, the time is not far diſtant when internal induſtry and home trade will change the export of proviſions into that of manufactures. Inſtead of dreary ſolitudes for grazing will be ſeen ſmiling corn fields and joyous population; and the Iſland be transformed into a peaceful granary, or reſound with the animated din of manufactures and work-ſhops.

There is a great and important truth, which the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Landholders of Ireland ſhould hold conſtantly in view—the VALUE of the produce of *land* or *labour* can be increaſed *only* by *population* or *ſkill*. *Population* cannot increaſe without increaſed funds to ſupport it, which is *Capital: ſkill* cannot increaſe without increaſed funds to reward and apply its diſcoveries, which is alſo *Capital*. Ireland has not that Capital. But Union with Great Britain will give that Capital:—conſequently it will

give

give an increaſed value to the produce of land and labour; it will give increaſed agriculture, increaſed manufactures, increaſed population, increaſed commerce.

Want of Capital may be one, amidſt other material reaſons, for the backward ſtate of agriculture in Ireland. But this reaſon cannot apply to great Proprietors. Experience, however, in all countries ſhews that *great Proprietors* are ſeldom *great improvers*. It has been alſo found in Ireland, as well as in that ancient ſtate of Europe, to which Ireland bears too much reſemblance at this day, that *leſs* improvement took place under thoſe who occupied the land than *under* the *Proprietors*. But leaſt of all has improvement ever taken place, while *thoſe employed* were either really, or what is eventually the ſame thing, ſuppoſed themſelves to be ſlaves. A man, who is without all hope or expectation of acquiring property, will labour as little as poſſible, provided he can ſubſiſt. He has no intereſt beyond his maintenance, and ſo far only will he think of labour. Man is always the ſame creature under the ſame circumſtances, and the great caſt of Nature is uniform, however different the climate or the time. In antient Italy, the decline of agriculture remarked by Pliny, and in ancient Greece by Ariſtotle, and in the Weſt Indies the laſh of a ſlave-driver—prove that when *man* has *no intereſt* in his *exertions*, nor poſſibility of civil elevation, and bettering his condition, *he will do as little as he can*. Now we aſk, *Are* the People of Ireland *indolent?*

If ſo: indolence and indigence are unſure cements for a civil ſyſtem; whereas due rewards conferred upon labour animate induſtry, produce comfort, and give ſolid ſecurity to a ſtate. If the people be happy, they will be virtuous. He, who requires a proof of this, has only to contemplate the ſtate of Great Britain to-day,—of the reſt of Europe—of Ireland itſelf! ! !. But the whole civil condition of Ireland will be improved by the conſequences of Union with

Great

Great Britain, both with reſpect to the ſupport of individuals and the ſtate; and with reſpect to the preſent caſt of national manners, which forms the *ſecond* part to be conſidered.

An inquiry into the cauſes of the manners of Ireland might afford, if judiciouſly traced, one of the moſt novel pictures perhaps ever preſented to the human mind. Such a combination of Brehon* barbarity forced upon their moral habits during ages, by our ill-judging forefathers; ſuch a mixture of allodial authority exerciſed with tyranny, by the conquering proprietors of lands; ſuch a feudal bondage, without the formalities of law, or feelings of Nature—ſunk, embittered, and depraved the human heart. After ages of ſuch horrid policy, England at length communicated its government and laws to Ireland. But as our anceſtors had eſtabliſhed themſelves by force, the Government of Ireland has ever ſince partaken of force. It was an error however, which, though the Government ſaw, conſtituted as it has been, it was unable to correct. Moſt unqueſtionably force was not a remedy for evils which grew out of the civil and religious differences of the country. The true remedy was another ſpecies of connexion—it was Union. And that remedy Molyneaux, the great champion of Ireland's rights and liberties, ſaw, and ardently deſired; but deſpaired of the bleſſing. Unhappily this ſound and radical policy, which might have cloſed all the wounds of hatred and hoſtility, was neglected for a ſpecies of quackery, which, in political as well as phyſical diſorders, but makes bad worſe. Thus through ages the barbarous caſt of Iriſh manners was kept up by oppreſſion. In after-times it was

* The nature of this code of laws, and its effects upon civil ſociety, may be collected from the following hiſtorical fact:—When Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam told Maguire that he would ſend a Sheriff into Fermanagh—"Your Sheriff," ſaid Maguire, "ſhall be welcome to me, but let me know his *Eriſh* (or price of his head) before-hand, that if my people cut it off, I may put the *Eriſh* upon the country."

aggravated

aggravated by the addition of civil vices, and the loſs of ſavage virtues, which reſulted from hatred and intermixture with their conquerors. And in nearer periods, their whole mind and manners have been empoiſoned by the cunning cant of plauſible men, and inflamed by the dark doctrines of traitors, until maddened, brutalized, and made ferocious by the contagious barbarity of the day.

The ſtate of Ireland has been truly peculiar in many points. The Proteſtants, who were leaſt numerous, had the property and power; while the Catholics, who were moſt numerous, had neither power nor property. It was deemed neceſſary therefore to ſupport the Proteſtant, leſt the Catholics ſhould get the power, and conſequently the property: and hence a great oppreſſion had ariſen in former times. And though it be now removed, a deep-rooted jealouſy has paſſed down to this day, and has embodied with it a legion of more corrupt paſſions to deſolate the hearts and affections of men. Such things cannot go on; there muſt be an end to theſe diſorders, or an end to civil ſociety. And againſt civil death in Ireland we know of no protection that the utmoſt ſtretch of human faculties can form, but an incorporative Union. This meaſure will give in ſubſtance what both parties deſire—namely, ſecurity to the Proteſtant for his preſent property and future power; and emancipation to the Catholic, or three millions of ſubjects, from the ſhackles of hideous diſtinction. Under an incorporative Union, all ſuſpicious fears of loſing eight-tenths of the property of the iſland muſt be removed for ever from the breaſt of the Proteſtant: and all well-grounded hopes of gaining legiſlative power and civil rights may, and will beyond doubt, be confirmed to the Catholic without dread, and with conſiderable advantage. Thus the gall of civil jealouſy will no longer embitter the minds and manners of men, nor the flame of religious animoſity kindle up the torch of frantic barbarity. But rebellion, cruſhed amidſt its

its expiring crimes, will die after a reign of horrors, which is beyond the reach of record or deſcription. For the firſt effort of Iriſh hiſtory was a page of traditional rebellions, and it has never ceaſed ſince to dip its pen in human blood.

But if, notwithſtanding all the well-grounded expectations of reſcuing men and manners from a gulph of immorality, through the unqueſtionable reſults of an Union on the civil ſtate of Ireland, it be aſked, who are the advocates, or what authority pleads for this meaſure? We proudly anſwer, that our ſupporters are ſome of the moſt wiſe, the moſt virtuous, and moſt revered characters, that have done honour to human nature in different ages and nations. And now we aſk, who are the oppoſers of Union?——One man indeed we ſee, whom we have been taught to reſpect, and therefore by his own words we judge him:—"When gentlemen argue on bad ground, even their own arguments often make againſt them."—(Woodfall's Report of Mr. Foſter's Speech, p. 106.) But are the oppoſers of this Union anxious on the ſcore of Iriſh independence? Molyneux, the advocate of Iriſh liberty, wiſely points to independence—for it exiſts ſolely—*in Union.* Are they deſirous to put down the mighty load of fundamental grievances in civilization, ignorance, ſuperſtition, manners, poverty? Let them then embrace commerce,—for to commerce, and all its conſequent civil bleſſings, Sir William Petty, Sir Joſiah Child, Decker, Munn, Adam Smith, Dean Tucker, and all other able political writers and œconomiſts, have pointed out the road—*through Union.*

If, beſide the authority of opinion, that of example can have weight in ſupport of an Union, we have the full benefit of experience before us in the Union after the Heptarchy, and in the Union of Wales, and Counties Palatine. We have alſo two other examples perhaps more ſtriking, becauſe more near to our own times and circumſtances. In the reign of Charles II. Carolina, like Ireland on the conqueſt,

conqueſt, was given up to ſome Engliſhmen, both in *property* and juriſdiction. Locke, who was certainly a friend to popular liberty, though by no means a politician, perhaps becauſe a metaphyſical philoſopher, was employed to compoſe a body of laws for their government. But notwithſtanding the code of ſuch an advocate for the people, diſtinctions, parties, and inteſtine commotions aroſe under this *ſecondary* juriſdiction, as the viceroyal and legiſlative government of Ireland now is. In order, therefore, to prevent the laſt ruinous conſequences of theſe troubles, it was thought adviſable to place the country under *the immediate care and inſpection of the Crown:* and the like immediate care and inſpection is a direct conſequence of the preſent Legiſlative Union. The other example is that of Stotland, whoſe diſtractions, diviſions, and clanſhip ceaſed but with the amelioration of its government under Union, and whereby the induſtry of the inhabitants was awakened. So rapid and ſucceſsful has its progreſs been ſince, that Engliſh ability, which ſurpaſſed Scottiſh ability at the period before the Union as *twenty-eight* to *one*, now exceeds it only as *eight* to *one*.*

Conſequently, therefore, if Ireland looks to *Political* power, to *Civil* happineſs, and *Commercial* opulence—her great charter for national and individual independence, as well as diffuſed riches, is Incorporative Union.

We have ſeen the conſequences of Union in ſeveral inſtances with reſpect to the Britiſh Empire; let us now recur to a memorable inſtance of *Diſunion* in the Roman Empire.

Peculiar circumſtances of ſtate, and the concealed views of the Sovereign, cauſed Auguſtus to eſtabliſh a line of *diſunion* between the *great maſs* of the *Roman People*. But from this plan flowed the *miſeries of the ſtate*; and it finally occaſioned what may be termed different ſovereignties in

* See Tables B & C.

one

one empire under Dioclesian. This *disunion* and division produced civil wars, which did not cease till all was again consolidated into *one Union*, and *under one sovereignty*. But *disunion* again took place under Constantine, when he formed two capitals. "There seemed to be two empires, and *in effect there were two*," says the historian; "*for they had* SEPARATE INTERESTS, and were *therefore* no longer *parts* of ONE WHOLE:" Thus the empire languished by degrees, sunk into nothing, and *died* of DISUNION. All things, continues the historian, had united for the grandeur of the Romans, and they re-united for its *fall*: *religious disputes*, and *civil wars*, and *corruption of manners*, and a *loss of the love* of *public good*, and the *defects of government*, and the *multitude of enemies*. Does not this picture of *disunion*—this separation of interests, these religious disputes, these civil wars, these corrupt manners, the *practical* defects of Irish government, and the multitude of enemies, exist in our case? God grant that the like consequences may not follow. We have indeed but one resource, one sure mode of preventing like effects; it is obviously—by dissolving like causes of destruction.

On a review of the Political, Commercial, and Civil state of Ireland, we perceive that the nature of its Imperial connexion is such, that all the art and policy of mankind have not been able to correct its vices, but have introduced new mischiefs and aggravated the old. The whole system has been an attempt to *force nature* into a compliance with prejudice, by little artificial regulations, and to overturn the great principles of policy and truth by a system of obvious, and now of experienced folly. Hence the horrid picture which the page of Irish history presents, stained with blood, and blotted by rebellions. Yet some men were lulled into a momentary dream; others too were awake in the vigil of power; but all were in a state of political subjection, and without independence. Had there been independ-

ence, and not a connected and commanding ſuperiority over them, one party had long ſince cruſhed to pieces the other—as would have lately been done even by the greatneſs of its own ruin. For though the object held out to inflame the paſſions of the middle claſſes, and the madneſs of the multitude, *was apparently* the overthrow of ariſtocracy—in reality the object was to eſtabliſh thoſe leaders of rebellion, into a *complete ariſtocracy:* which they would have done even under a republic. Both, however, are deſpotiſms.

It may not be amiſs to lay before uninformed perſons ſome ſhort inſtruction on this point of ariſtocracies and republics.—All ARISTOCRACIES are deſpotiſms, except in name: and are worſe than any ſingle deſpotiſm, becauſe *every individual* of an ariſtocracy is a *tyrant.* In a deſpotiſm there may be an horrible and blood-thirſty Nero to-day; but to-morrow there may be a Veſpaſian, whoſe "POWER is but an *opportunity* of doing *good*"—(Pliny). But in an ariſtocracy it is not *one* heart, nor *one* head—nor *one* blow that defeats the monſter: it is *many headed*; and one grows up as the other is cut off. Hence the people, in order to eſcape *numerous* calamities, uniformly caſt themſelves into the arms of a *ſingle* deſpot: it was the caſe in Denmark.

But in REPUBLICS it is even *worſe*; for there the monſter has ſtill *more* heads to devour the ſubjects. And the *people* under *republican governments* are not *politically* but PERSONALLY enſlaved: it was the caſe in Poland. The PEOPLE are not only *enſlaved*, but enervated and *corrupted* by *debauchery*, to make them willing but *baſe ſacrifices* to TYRANNY: it was the caſe in Venice.

So likewiſe in *modern republics*, the *people* are *held faſt*, and furniſhed with *ſenſuality*, as *pigs* in a *filthy ſtye*, who *wallow* before *ſlaughter*.

But

But if it be ſaid there MAY BE exceptions to this tyranny of republics—we demand where are they, throughout the range of time and place ſince the creation, from the moſt diminutive to the greateſt—from that of Lucca or St. Marino in Italy, or from that one in Switzerland, which contained about 1500 ſubjects, to Rome herſelf, the bluſtering miſtreſs of the world. Men unfortunately take words for things. The word republic excites and bears with it the idea of freedom; but examine the thing, and it is a compound of all the elements of tyranny. If example be proof, look to the proud boaſt and glory of republics, to the models which all imitate, but none have equalled: and what did the refinement of a Grecian, or the ſolidity of a Roman republic produce? A ſeries of tyranny and horror that diſgrace, the character of human nature, and which no other ſpecies of deſpotiſm but republican deſpotiſm can parallel. It was a *republic* that brought forth the *monſter* who wiſhed his *people* to have but *one neck*, that he might deſtroy them *all* at one blow. In *republics* the PEOPLE have, in name, general political *freedom*, but in *reality* they are *no part* in it. And as to *thoſe* men, who are *already exalted* by *nature*, to greatneſs, and the rare *rank* of *talents*, what do they ſeek in *republics*, but dangers proportionate to their ſucceſs? Let the Roman Agricola, counſel them if they be virtuous; let the chiefs of the French republic who have fallen by the dagger and the axe; let Condorcet, the miſerable victim of hunger and poiſon, warn them if they be otherwiſe.

What man then ſo weak, or politician ſo wicked toward human nature, as to ſtand up for ARISTOCRACY or REPUBLICANISM, which are *governments* calculated but to *curſe mankind?* Bondage and oppreſſion, ſlave and tyrant, can alone be counteracted in a monarchy, where there is eagle againſt eagle, *and lion againſt lion.* By vigilance againſt vigilance, and power *againſt* power, there ariſes a wiſe mixture of modes, which corrects and balances their authority;

they cannot be ſeparately exerted for evil, but may jointly for good. But that they ſhould be jointly exerted for evil is a confederacy hardly poſſible: for it were a joint madneſs for ſeparate ſuicide.—It were a triumph for mourning.

There may, however, be a bedlam of a ſyſtem; for ſuch is that of Ireland, not only politically conſidered, but commercially and civilly. With reſpect to the civil ſtate, a remedy has been propoſed, by forming eſtabliſhments for the education of the lower orders. This, we fear, is erroneous, and hope it may not prove dangerous. Ameliorate the condition of the people, and inſtruction will follow: whereas if their condition be not ameliorated, and their minds be enlightened, what enſues? They will then ſtudy thoſe inflammatory papers which they have been deſired by the United Iriſhmen to hang up in their cabins; and will reflect on, and be roufed by ſuch aggravated deſcriptions of oppreſſion, as might make a wiſe man mad. Whereas, let Union open to them the ſources of *national wealth*, and *individual happineſs* will follow. Riches alſo promote public virtue, which promote private happineſs; but riches, which oppoſe the public happineſs of a people, oppoſe private virtue.

The ſource of riches inſtrumental to national virtue is agriculture and the arts. The quantity neceſſary to individual happineſs, is that ſufficiency ariſing from the daily application of eight or ten hours to procure comfortable dwellings, warm clothing, and wholeſome food for themſelves and families: and where the quantity of circulating caſh is not, through deficiency or exceſs, contrary to the enjoyment and preſervation of their ſtate of proſperity.

Riches oppoſe the private virtue of a people, where there is exceſs of opulence and exceſs of miſery; for it condemns one part of a nation to idleneſs, another to indigence, and both to misfortunes and vice. The people thus loſe all energy, their minds become depraved through their civil ſtate,

and

and are brutalized by ignorance. Ignorance prepares them as victims for error, and error darkens and confuſes whatever is good or evil for them. Ignorance firſt renders them inſenſible to advantages propoſed, error next makes them abhor them, and perpetuates their misfortunes. But begin to remedy thoſe misfortunes by changing their ſtate, and the people will no longer through ignorance or error be inſtruments of civil death; but their force become a ſource of inexhauſtible happineſs, if *then* directed by reaſon.

Whereas to begin inſtruction before civil abjection be removed, is, if not dangerous, we conceive erroneous. Render the people happy, and that inſtruction which ſuits their ſtation and capacities, will naturally follow. The man muſt be wholly ignorant of the progreſs of the human mind, who knows not the relations between public and private inſtruction and public opulence. Writers will inform him, that where the hiſtory of knowledge and ſcience began, there roſe the monuments of this truth. The firſt germs of ſcience, natural, moral and political, developed themſelves in the rich Monarchies of Egypt and Aſſyria. In the hiſtory of the Phœnicians, we find that this commercial people became the depoſitaries of the knowledge of the Eaſt, after having been the depoſitary of its productions. The hiſtory of Greece, and the Grecian Colonies in Italy, ſhews that they were the ſeats of commerce when they became the ſeats of learning. And if we paſs to Rome, we ſhall find that the country of Fabricius had riſen from its ancient poverty to hold up the great examples of a Cicero, an Horace, and a Virgil. If we return to the Eaſt, during a period nearer to our own times, we ſhall find that the rapid progreſs of knowledge under the Caliphs was in the moment that its commerce ſecured it a great portion of the riches of Aſia, Europe, and Africa. To the Arabs we owe chymiſtry and medicine, and theſe remedies more ſalutary and mild than thoſe tranſmitted to us by Hippocrates

or Galen. To them we owe too algebra, and the immortality of Newton: who, inſpired by their firſt geometric meaſurement of the earth, ſcaled the heavens, lived amidſt its ſtars, and ſent down to us the laws of their revolutions, and his own immortality.

Since the beginning of time KNOWLEDGE has kept pace with wealth, extended with induſtry, and flouriſhed with commerce. Such has been its progreſs ſince creation over the globe: it has thus pervaded Europe; always abandoning the poor or impoveriſhed, and uniformly abiding and flouriſhing with the nations which are rich.

This is the evidence of hiſtory and example: what ſays reaſon?

The cultivation of the mind ſuppoſes a moral elevation, but there can be no ſuch elevation where there is moral abjection; or, in other words, there can be *no* general improvement of mind or manners where there is not *happineſs* and *civil independence*. Where there is poverty there will be ignorance; where there is ignorance there will be error; and where there are poverty, ignorance, and error, there will eternally be misfortunes and vice. Make the people happy, and it is eaſy to make them virtuous and wiſe; let the great be virtuous, and they will be both wiſe and happy.

But what is the picture preſented to us in Mr. Johnſon's admirable lettter on the propoſed Union—(p. 5, London edition)—"The hiſtory of this country, as long as its annals can be traced, furniſhes no other ſpectacle than ſuch as humanity muſt deplore, and philoſophy regret."—He then draws, with a vigorous pen, a view of the different claſſes in Ireland: and adds—"All the national evils, which might be ſuppoſed to flow from *ſuch conditions*, overſpread a ſeemingly devoted land."—Let us now caſt our eye on a ſimilar ſtate of Scotland before the Union. "I think I ſee," ſaid Lord Belhaven on the Union, in the true ſpirit of oppreſſion, "the peerage of Scotland *diveſted* of their followers

followers and *vaſſalages*, and put on an equal footing with their own *very vaſſals*." But, remarked Mr. Dundas* on this paſſage with a wiſdom at once honourable to his head and heart—" if the *Union* has *broken aſunder* the BONDS of *feudal* vaſſalage, wiſe and virtuous men will not be diſpoſed to conſider this as an *evil conſequence*." And on another prophecy of his Lordſhip's, Mr. Dundas obſerves, with a ſentiment of ſound policy—" Now I DO ſee the mere *ploughman* enjoying TREBLE WAGES and TREBLE COMFORTS, while the *farmer* reaps ſuch *profits* as enable him to live almoſt upon an equal footing, in every point of *ſocial enjoyment*, with even the hereditary landed gentleman, the poſſeſſor of the ſoil itſelf."

" If it be true," (ſays Mr. Dundas in another paſſage) " as generally acknowledged, that the POOR of Ireland experience all the *miſeries* concomitant to a ſtate of *wretchedneſs*—that *liberty* which *awakened* the *commercial* enterprize of Scotland—that *liberty* which expanded its *genius* in the moſt *honourable* purſuits—that *liberty* which confirmed every ſentiment which can *dignify* human nature, will, I am ſure, have the *ſame happy influence* on the *people* of Ireland, connected with us by the deareſt reciprocal obligations."

" If it be true," (ſays Mr. Pitt alſo) " that this meaſure has an inevitable tendency to admit the introduction of that Britiſh capital which is moſt likely to give life to all the operations of COMMERCE, and to all the improvements of AGRICULTURE; if it be that which *above all other* conſiderations *is moſt* likely to give SECURITY, QUIET, and internal REPOSE to Ireland: if it is likely to *remove* the *chief bar* to the internal advancement of WEALTH and CIVILIZATION, by a more intimate intercourſe with England; if it is more likely to communicate from hence thoſe habits which diſtinguiſh this country, and which, by a *continued gradation*

* See Speech on the Union.

tion unite the HIGHEST and the LOWEST orders of the community WITHOUT a CHASM in any part of the ſyſtem; if it is not only likely to invite (as I have already ſaid) *Engliſh capital* to ſet COMMERCE in MOTION, but to offer it the uſe of NEW MARKETS, to open *freſh reſources* of WEALTH and INDUSTRY; can *wealth*, can *induſtry*, can *civilization* increaſe among the whole bulk of the people, without *much more* than counterbalancing the *partial* effect of a *removal* of the *few individuals*, who for a *ſmall part* of the year would follow the ſeat of legiſlation? If, notwithſtanding the abſence of parliament from Dublin, it would ſtill remain the *centre* of *education*, and of the *internal commerce* of a country *increaſing in improvement*; if it would ſtill remain the *ſeat* of *legal* diſcuſſion, which muſt always *increaſe* with an increaſe of *property* and occupation; will it be ſuppoſed, with a view even to the *intereſts of thoſe* whoſe partial intereſts have been moſt ſucceſsfully appealed to; with a view either to the reſpectable *body of the bar*, to the *merchant*, or *ſhopkeeper* of *Dublin*, that *they* would not find their *proportionate* ſhare of advantage in the general advantage of the ſtate? Let it be remembered alſo, that if the tranſfer of the ſeat of legiſlature may call from Ireland to England the MEMBERS of the united parliament; yet, after the Union, *property*, influence, and *conſideration* in Ireland will lead, as *much* as in Great Britain, to *all the objects* of imperial ambition: and there muſt conſequently exiſt a NEW INCITEMENT to perſons, to acquire *property in that country*, and to thoſe who poſſeſs it, to *reſide* there, and to cultivate the good opinion of thoſe with whom they live, and to extend and improve their influence and connexions."

"But we can on this queſtion refer to experience. Look at the metropolis of Scotland: the population of Edinburgh has been more than doubled ſince the Union, has increaſed in the proportion of between five and ſix to one: look at its progreſs in manufactures; look at its great advantages,

and

and tell me what ground there is, judging by *experience, in aid* of theory, for thoſe *gloomy apprehenſions* which have been ſo *induſtriouſly* excited."

With reſpect "to the commercial privileges *now* enjoyed by Ireland, and to which it owes ſo much of its proſperity, that they would be *leſs ſecure* than at preſent, I have given an anſwer to already, by ſtating, that they are *falſely* imputed to the *independence* of the Iriſh parliament, for they are, in *fact*, owing to the exerciſe of the *voluntary diſcretion* of the *Britiſh parliament*, UNBOUND by COMPACT, prompted only by its natural diſpoſition, to conſider the intereſts of Ireland as its own."

"I have ſeen it under the *ſame* authority (that of Mr. Foſter, the Speaker of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, to which I am ſorry ſo often to advert,) that the linen trade would be injured, and that there will be *no ſecurity* for its retaining its *preſent* advantages. I have already ſtated, and with *that very* authority (Mr. Foſter) IN MY FAVOUR, that thoſe advantages are *at preſent* PRECARIOUS, and that their *ſecurity* can *only* ariſe from *compact* with Great Britain. *Such* a *compact*, *this meaſure* would eſtabliſh in the moſt SOLEMN manner: but beſides this, the *natural policy* of this country, not merely its *experienced* liberality, but the IDENTITY of INTERESTS after an Union, would offer a *ſecurity* worth a houſand *compacts*.

I wiſh for the maintenance of connexion between the two countries, with a peculiar regard to *every thing* that can give to Ireland its DUE *weight* and *importance*, as a great member of the Empire. I wiſh for it, with a view of giving to that country the *means* of improving *all its great* natural reſources, and of giving it a *full participation* of *all* thoſe bleſſings, which this country ſo eminently enjoys."

"God grant that in this inſtance the ſame favour of Divine Providence, which has in ſo many inſtances protected this Empire, may again interpoſe in our favour; and that the attempts of the enemy to *ſeparate* the two countries,

may

may tend ultimately to knit them more closely together, to ſtrengthen a connexion, the *beſt* pledge for the *happineſs* of *both*, and ſo add to *that power* which forms the chief *barrier* of the *civiliſed world*, againſt the *deſtructive* principles, the *dangerous* projects, and the UNEXAMPLED USURPATION of *France*."

"This connexion has been attacked not only by the *avowed* enemies of *both* countries, but by *internal* treaſon, acting in concert with the deſigns of the enemy: internal treaſon, which engrafted Jacobiniſm on *thoſe diſeaſes*, which *neceſſarily* grew out of the *ſtate* and *condition* of Ireland."

"We ſee the point, in which that enemy thinks us the moſt aſſailable—Are we not then bound in policy and prudence to *ſtrengthen* that vulnerable point, involved as we are in a conteſt of LIBERTY againſt DESPOTISM—of PROPERTY againſt PLUNDER and RAPINE—of RELIGION and ORDER againſt IMPIETY and ANARCHY? There *was* a time, when this would have been termed declamation, but thoſe calamities are *atteſted* by the WOUNDS of a *bleeding world*."

"A meaſure then, which muſt communicate to ſuch a mighty limb of the empire as Ireland, *all the commercial* advantages which Great Britain poſſeſſes, which will open the markets of the one country to the other, which will give them both the *common uſe of capital*, MUST, by diffuſing a *large* portion of *wealth* into Ireland, conſiderably increaſe the *reſources*, and conſequently the *ſtrength* of the whole empire."

"But it is not merely in this *general* view that I think the queſtion ought to be conſidered. We ought to look to it with a view *peculiarly* to the *permanent* intereſt and ſecurity of Ireland. When that country was threatened with the double danger of hoſtile attacks by *enemies without*, and of *treaſon* within, from what quarter did ſhe derive the *means* of her *deliverance*?—from the *naval* force of Great Britain, from the *voluntary* exertions of her *military* of every

deſcription—

deſcription—not called for by law—and from her *pecuniary* reſources, added to the *loyalty* and *energy* of the inhabitants of Ireland itſelf: Of which it is impoſſible to ſpeak with *too much* praiſe, and which ſhews how well they deſerve to be called the BRETHREN of BRITONS."

What, then, are the advantages derivable from this meaſure to Ireland?—"They are, ſays Mr. Pitt, the *protection* which ſhe will *ſecure* herſelf in the HOUR of DANGER—the moſt *effectual* means of *increaſing* her COMMERCE, and *improving* her AGRICULTURE; the *command* of ENGLISH CAPITAL; the *infuſion* of ENGLISH MANNERS, and ENGLISH INDUSTRY, neceſſarily tending to *ameliorate* her CONDITION, to *accelerate* the progreſs of *internal* CIVILIZATION, and to *terminate* thoſe FEUDS and DISSENSIONS, which now *diſtract* the country, and which ſhe does *not* poſſeſs within herſelf the POWER to extinguiſh. She would ſee the avenue to HONORS, to DISTINCTIONS, and EXALTED SITUATIONS, in the *general ſeat of Empire* opened to ALL thoſe, whoſe ABILITIES, and TALENTS enable them to indulge an *honourable* and *laudable* ambition."

With an anxious wiſh, therefore, for the exaltation of Ireland, in *independence*, *commerce*, and its *civil* ſtate, we conclude by giving it as our deliberate opinion, on the grounds before ſtated, that if an *Union does not take place*, the nation will be reduced to a moſt wretched condition. Their only manufacture of linen will be inevitably loſt; their corn trade will be at an end; and the gentlemen of eſtates will conſequently turn off their tenants, becauſe they will not be able to pay their rents. They will then become *farmers* themſelves to feed their own ſheep and cattle; there will then be left but a few miſerable cottagers to watch thoſe cattle, and *Ireland* will ſoon *become* a *country* like that *of the ſavage Tartars*. The farmer muſt rob, beg, or leave the country: the merchant muſt become poor and bankrupt, and the ſhopkeeper muſt break and ſtarve. Therefore, may

our

our fellow ſubjects in Ireland *be wiſe*, and ſtand to this meaſure of an Union one and all—Proteſtants and Catholics, it is the *great charter* of your *political ſalvation*—you are bound to it by the love which you owe your country, your religion, and yourſelves: you are bound to it by the laws of God and nature, and by ALL your DUTIES as men. The ſtaunch and approved friends of *Iriſh liberty*, ſuch as *Molyneux* was, have been friends of this meaſure. The majority of the moſt WISE and VIRTUOUS men of *paſt* ages and the *preſent* day, and the well-known friends of the *poor* of Ireland, have been and are the adviſers of this Union. Thoſe alſo, who have the greateſt intereſt at ſtake in the welfare of Ireland, and thoſe who have the greateſt property in land, are decidedly the ſupporters of it. The great majority of the peers, and nearly an equality of the commons, except about half a dozen, may well be called the *majority* of the *property* and of the *parliament* of Ireland: and theſe, together with his GRACIOUS MAJESTY, the FATHER of his PEOPLE, are the *friends* and *adviſers* of this Union. With ſuch authority and ſupport as this, and with all the proofs which we have brought forward upon this queſtion, we caution you that your *farmers* may not be forced to *beg*, *rob*, or *leave the country*; that your *manufacturers* may not *periſh*; that your *merchants* may not become *bankrupts*; that your *ſhopkeepers* may not *break* and *ſtarve*—we *caution* you as you love your religion and your country, and as your wives and children are dear to you, to *beware* of being made *tools* by ſuch men *againſt an Union*, as would for their *own purpoſes* dupe and deceive you into *ruin*. We *caution* alſo the cabinet of Great Britain, as they value the fate of Ireland, not to be deceived by the clamours and complaints of thoſe men.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

TABLE A.

Eſtimate of the loſſes ſuſtained by Europe through the means of the French Republic.

[*The loſſes of men and the expenſes of the war are not included here; as England alone has ſpent many million pounds ſterling.*]

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Total amount of requiſitions and contributions, as ſpecified - - - - -	3,582,267,681	143,290,707
Loſs of the Dutch by the Bankruptcies of the Great Nation - - - - -	1,920,000,000	76,800,000
Unvalued property; as plate of the churches, maintenance of the armies, palaces, houſes, national domains, property of the emigrants in the conquered countries, fortifications, ceded territories, their regular revenues, &c. &c. - - - -	20,000,000,000	800,000,000
Enormous amount of aſſignats, mandats, &c. poured out amongſt mankind, whereby millions of credulous people were deceived.—Fifty milliards of aſſignats; whereof (including what was loſt by foreigners in the public funds one-third may be taken in calculation - -	16,666,666,666	666,666,667
A great number of large and ſmall American veſſels, taken without a declaration of war, by piracy, which amount in number to more than one thouſand; and valuing each with its cargo at only one thouſand pounds, the amount is - -	25,000,000	1,000,000
A number of veſſels taken from the other neutral powers together - - - -	100,000,000	4,000,000
N. B. We do not reckon the loſſes of Great Britain and Ireland in commercial veſſels, as the French have loſt more than their amount in ſhips of war.		
Total loſs of Europe in money, goods, and territory* - - - - - -	42,293,934,347	1,691,757,374

* Rome, Oct. 8, 1798.—*A new forced Loan* of 600,000 Piaſtres was levied by the *new government*: which is about three millions of Livres, or 125,000 l. ſterling.

Should any one find this calculation over-rated, he will pleaſe to conſider that all the countries conquered by the French nation were the moſt rich, populous, induſtrious, and fruitful parts of the Continent, and that this turbulent Republic has at preſent nearly a third part of Europe under her command. She has ſo rounded and fortified herſelf, that ſhe is enabled to keep all nations in a ſtate of perpetual agitation.

TABLE B.

General Trade of Scotland.

Year.	Imports. £.	s.	d.	Exports. £.	s.	d.
1697	91,302	16	10	73,203	6	0
1699	86,309	19	1	66,303	15	8
1701	73,988	18	11	56,802	2	2
1702	71,428	18	11	58,688	2	2
1703	76,448	8	3	57,338	15	5
1704	54,379	16	8	87,536	9	8
1705	57,902	12	0	50,035	13	2
1706	50,309	0	10	60,313	3	7
1707	6,733	1	8	47,779	0	1

Thus then ſtands the account of the laſt memorable year:

Imports,	6,733	1	8
Exports,	47,779	0	0
£.	54,512	1	9

Whereas now the ſingle town of Paiſley, ſends to Leipſic fair, about nearly eight times that amount; and the trade of Scotland, as before ſtated, produced in 1796, above fifty times that amount. Such is Union! But let men examine alſo, whereto is the trade of Ireland; is it not almoſt ſolely to Great Britain? And whereto is the trade of Scotland, at this moment? ——To all the univerſe. Union has preſented her with the key of Britiſh Commerce, and opened for her the harbours of the globe. So will union of intereſts, capital, and ſkill, operate in favour of Ireland.

TABLE C.

An account of the Commerce with those places whereto Scotland has traded, during one year, at various periods, since the Union.

Places.	*Year.*	*Imports.*	*Exports.*	*Total.*
Denmark & Norway	1765	£ 34,204	£ 47,502	£ 81,706
Sweden	1792	49,063	5,261	54,324
Ruſſia	1796	465,243	43,611	508,854
Poland	1784	57,739	2,294	60,033
Pruſſia	1795	69,617	3,808	73,425
Germany	1796	89,703	80,225	169,928
Holland	1744	110,015	421,617	531,632
Flanders	1782	92,300	65,559	157,859
France	1772	3,313	472,175	475,488
Portugal	1796	59,934	5,507	65,441
Madeira	1791	2,875	14,474	17,349
Spain	1774	10,785	67,478	78,263
Canaries	1766	2,620	437	3,057
Minorca	1770	——	2,059	12,707
Majorca	1778	648	——	
Gibraltar	1795	43	5,398	5,381
Italy	1791	19,777	15,095	34,772
Ireland	1790	370,449	328,230	698,689
Iſle of Man	1795	1,044	6,228	7,332
Alderney	1772	——	——	20
Jerſey	1782	1,230	——	1,230
Greenland	1787	——	——	34,520
New England	1765	29,754	17,404	47,158
New York	1796	21,059	171,502	192,561
Penſylvania	1771	20,048	18,725	38,773
Maryland & Virginia	1771	548,528	303,400	851,928
North & S. Carolina	1789	43,071	41,667	84,738
Georgia	1780	——	28,092	——

Newfoundland

Places.	*Year.*	*Imports.*	*Exports.*	*Total.*
Newfoundland	1793	1,352	23,262	24,614
Canada	1794	2,240	35,493	37,733
Nova Scotia	1797	1,457	126,136	127,593
Iſland of St. John's	1770	1,208	562	1,770
Bermudas	1783	3,861	9,089	12,950
Bahamas	1795	20,005	16,959	36,964
Turk's Iſland	1769	812	——	——
Florida	1779	——	104,219	——
Honduras Bay	1774	29,444	108	29,552
Antigua	1770	65,660	8,141	73,801
Barbadoes	1791	64,434	22,015	86,449
Dominica	1793	3,817	6,112	9,929
Grenada	1792	111,518	120,372	234,890
Jamaica	1794	86,034	304,283	390,317
Montſerrat	1764	8,344	1,800	10,144
Nevis	1793	17,610	——	——
St. Kitt's	1780	45,049	99,030	144,079
St. Vincent	1792	38,206	5,989	44,195
Tortola	1782	32,097	24,098	56,195
Tobago	1796	35,211	7,895	43,106
St. Lucia	1782	16,606	54,778	71,384
St. Cruze	1775	19,847	——	——
Guadaloupe	1763	9,924	3,190	13,114
Cuba	1779	25,896	——	——
St. Euſtatia	1781	22,221	——	——
Martinico	1794	18,039	8,745	26,784
Hiſpaniola	1779	7,448	——	——
St. Martin	1790	1,315	——	——
St. Thomas	1792	17,651	——	——
Curaſſoa & Demerara	1792	10,318	——	——
America, in general	1760	475,704	350,540	815,244
Africa	1766	——	4,088	——
Trinidada	1796	17,259	8,685	25,944

Let Ireland examine well this detail of Commercial intercourſe. Let the aggregate amount of this Commerce, during one year at each

each place, be duly conſidered. Theſe are proofs which bring home conviction upon facts, and diſplay through the incontrovertible evidence of figures, what have been the reſults of Union to Scotland. Since, therefore, ſuch are the conſequences to a country, without thoſe natural capabilities from local advantages, or from animal, mineral, and vegetable reſources; what has not Ireland ſolid reaſon to expect, being ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed with ſuch extraordinary ſuperiorities, if once enjoying an equality of civil and political capacities? Madneſs, indeed, and not ſimple prejudice muſt rule the hour—did not ſome mental contagion prevail, of which the great philoſopher Bacon ſpeaks, men could not pauſe a moment upon the meaſure of an Union. In our conſcience, we think that thoſe who oppoſe it, are downright enemies to Ireland; they are enemies to its ſuffering cottagers, its ſtarving poor, its miſerable manufacturers: they are enemies to the landholders and the merchant: they are enemies to their torn and bleeding country, and to themſelves,—though not intentionally to any of theſe. But we do believe them to be eventually, and radically, overthrowing the throne and the altars of their country.

Comparative View of Scotland before and ſince the Union, in Shipping, Trade, Revenues, and Populations.

(Taken from Mr. Dundas's Speech, page 20.)

SHIPPING.	In 1692	8,618	Tons.
	1792	162,284	——
	In Leith 1692	1,702	——
	do. 1795	18,468	——
LINEN TRADE.	1700	1,000,000	Yards
	1796	23,000,000	——
REVENUES.	Cuſtoms at the Union	£. 34,000	
	In 1798	284,577	
	Exciſe at the Union	33,500	
	In 1798	851,775	
POPULATION.	In 1755	1,265,000	
	1795	15,34,000	
In Glaſgow, from the years,	1701 to 1710	14,790	
	In 1798	77,042	

Progreſſion

TABLE D.

Progreſſion of the Commerce of Ireland with Great Britain, during a Century.

TOTAL AMOUNT.

Years.		*£.*	*s.*	*d.*	
1697	-	475,175	12	2	Before Independence, or free Trade.
1730	-	826,855	3	9	
1763	-	2,706,352	8	6	
1777	-	3,854,775	5	2	
1782	-	3,415,472	7	6	After do.
1784	-	3,412,553	7	6	
1789	-	4,719,500	9	8	Since the preſent Adminiſtration.
1792	-	4,999,599	19	11	
1794	-	5,230,376	11	1	
1796	-	5,661,949	16	8	

The trade of Ireland has increaſed, in one century, about fifteen fold. From 1777, which was two years before the date of Iriſh Independence, to 1784, being a term of ſeven years, and which comes down *lower* than the date of her independence and Free-Trade, her commerce did *not* increaſe. But, its rapid augmentation *ſince* 1784 has ariſen from another cauſe, totally diſtinct from her Independence or Free Trade, and which the latter would have never procured, more than the former. That cauſe was the wonderful growing commerce of Britain, ſince 1784, which we ſhall ſhew hereafter. Ireland has proſpered with the proſperity of Great Britain, and appears bright by a reflected light—but which ſo dazzles the weak-ſighted, that they miſtake its original and true ſource. It is not Iriſh Independence, however: it is not her Free Trade—make her as free as ſhe came out of chaos, cut aſunder every filament of connexion—Where will then be her millions of Trade? What will ſhe then

find in her theoretic independence or practical freedom? Short ſighted, indeed, are thoſe men, who do not diſtinguiſh the true ſource of Ireland's aggrandiſement—It is Britiſh connexion—it is Britiſh proſperity, under whoſe beams Ireland has thriven. We may view further proofs of her proſperity under a connexion, which no other nation on the Globe could afford her, by the progreſſive increaſe of her Shipping, during the laſt century.

In 1698	-	120,728 tons
— 1745	-	181,805 do. the middle ſpace.
— 1793	-	678,530 do.

Thus we ſee that the increaſe in the firſt half is about ſixty thouſand tons; whereas, in the laſt half, it is near 500,000 tons. And here we ſhould obſerve alſo, that this extraordinary increaſe dates itſelf from the increaſe of Britiſh Trade ſince 1784.

It appears above, that the tonnage was

In 1698	-	120,728 tons
— 1783	-	413,827 —
— 1793	-	678,530 —

Conſequently the increaſe ſince 1783, approaches nearly, during the laſt ten years, to the increaſe, during the whole preceding period of the century. And that this did by no means whatever ariſe from Independenee, or the Free Trade of Ireland, we have incontrovertibly ſhewn before, by proofs drawn from the Linen trade of Great Britain with Ireland and other countries, and to which we refer.

It appears alſo, from the univerſal trade of Britain, that Ireland has, ſince her Free Trade, kept but a *general* pace of increaſe with other countries, and therefore, that ſhe has no *particular* cauſe in herſelf for that increaſe; but that it exiſts ſolely and altogether, in the unparalleled augmentation of *Britiſh* commerce ſince that period. We ſhall refer, for further proof, to the ſcale of Britiſh commerce, whereby Ireland will perceive, that the barometer of Iriſh proſperity is Britiſh proſperity.

TABLE

TABLE E.

Comparative Sketch of the Commerce of Great Britain, during a Century.

In the year 1697.

	£.	s.	d.
Imports,	3,482,586	10	5
Exports,	3,525,906	8	11
Total	7,008,492	19	4

In the year 1783.

	£.
Imports,	13,122,235
Exports,	14,681,494
Total £.	27,803,729

Thus it appears, that the *increaſe* of Commerce, from before the cloſe of the laſt century, to the year of the commencement of the preſent adminiſtration, amounted to about, we may ſay, *twenty millions* and an half. Now let us ſee, what is the Commerce at this day.

In the year 1798.

	£.
Imports,	25,654,000
Exports,	33,800,000
Total £.	59,454,000

Hence, therefore, it is manifeſt, beyond the poſſibility of doubt or contradiction, that the Commerce of Great Britain has increaſed, ſince the year 1783, to the amount of above twenty-one millions and an half: that is, ſince the commencement of the preſent adminiſtration, Engliſh commerce has INCREASED a *million more* than in the whole *preceding* period of the century.

The

The amount of the Commerce of 1798, is ſtated above according to the *official* value; but the REAL value as *given in* and *paid for*, on account of convoy, by the Merchants, is as follows:

	£.
Imports,	46,963,230
Exports,	48,000,056
Commerce of 1798,	94,963,286

☞ The benefit of this unparalleled Commerce, and the participation of all its happy effects upon National Opulence, Agriculture, and Manufactures, are now open to Ireland by Union.

THE END.

b

A LETTER

TO THE

ELECTORS OF IRELAND,

ON THE

PROJECTED MEASURE

OF AN

UNION.

WITH SOME

FRIENDLY HINTS

TO THE

BOROUGH PATRONS

OF

IRELAND.

BY A FREEHOLDER.

The dawn is overcast, the morning lowers,
And heavily in clouds brings on the day,
The *important* day, big with the fate of Cato and of Rome.

ADDISON'S CATO.

—DUBLIN:—

PRINTED FOR J. MOORE, NO. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN.

1799.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IF ever there was a meaſure in the contemplation of Government, which importunately and awfully called for your collected wiſdom, energy and virtue, to prevent its adoption, indiſputably an Union is that critical and momentous ſubject for Ireland—which is, in its aſpect, an object ſo terrific and menacing, as ſhould appal the hardieſt, and rouſe the moſt languid. Was it a matter of inferior conſideration, or trivial regard, I ſhould not, *at preſent*, engage your minds with any political diſcuſſion, but patiently wait the period, till the ſtorms of war were paſt, and ſeaſons of ſerenity had ſoon in their turn ſucceeded.

But delay muſt now be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences and direful effects, unleſs the ſenſe of the country is explicitly declared, previouſly to the meeting of Parliament, it cannot then properly be attempted. Any popular deliberation, during their ſitting, would be conſidered an invaſion of their rights—an open and direct attempt to dictate to the Legiſlature, and overawe Parliament. Be aſſured, ſhould you not *promptly* expreſs your ſentiments on this awful occaſion, and inſtruct your repreſentatives on this great and important ſubject, you will not have it hereafter in your power to do ſo, with *any effect*. While you heſitate, the moment is paſt, your ſilence will naturally be conſtrued into aſſent—your non-exertion into acquieſcence. It will fairly be ſaid no petition, no remonſtrance, no declaration has appeared againſt the meaſure; therefore the popular wiſh is by no means hoſtile to either the diſcuſſion or adoption of it. See on what a precipice you ſtand, and how awful the criſis! But, my friends, you will be told the terms will be liberal, the outlines great and extenſive, and

* The members of the county of Dublin, have begged to receive the inſtruction of their conſtituents on this point.

and execution masterly. Undoubtedly they will be so—how could the scheme hope for success or completion, but through the medium of liberality. It is not by shewing the defects, and having them boldly projecting from the canvas, and striking the eye of every beholder, that they could expect to receive your concurrence. No; its plausibility will be the means of your seduction, and an instrument of your subjugation. It has, however, been said, do not prejudge the question—see its merits and imperfections fairly and fully before you, and do not let decision be the forerunner of debate—the conclusion preceding the beginning. To this objection I answer, that every person who has considered the relative situation of both countries, must know, in the abstract, what benefits, landed, commercial, or constitutional, England has to give, and what equivalent sacrifices Ireland, in return, must make. This enquiry wants no profundity, or deep research, but is striking and obvious to the most superficial reasoner. Could it for a moment be supposed, that England would *gratuitously* and *unsolicited* confer on us unrequited obligations. No; the whole tenor of her conduct has

been otherwiſe—exactly and diametrically oppoſite.

Suppoſe, for a moment, an Union of the Legiſlatures to be carried into effect—and ſhould the terms turn out to be beneficial to Ireland—there is no ſecurity whatever for their being kept inviolate.* The faith of nations is little to be depended on—all hiſtory ſhews them to be, in their conduct, uniformly ſelfiſh. Should the articles be found prejudicial to Ireland, there is no poſſible redreſs; they are immutable and irrevocable, like the laws of the Medes and Perſians, and it will be with her national character as with female virtue—

Ruin enſues reproach and *endleſs* ſhame,
And one falſe ſtep *eternally* damns her fame.

But a reaſon is offered in favour of an Union, that it will tranquillize Ireland—and that repoſe may be expected from a cloſer connection with a great and powerful country—I aſk did it ſettle Scotland. Since the incorporation of the two kingdoms there were two rebellions, and a third had nearly

* Vide the inſtances of the Malt tax, law of High Treaſon, and Peerage.

nearly *laſt year* taken place, but for the ſeaſonable and fortunate removal of Muir and Palmer, who did not get ſufficient time, to completely and finally organize Scotland; or even ſo would you, on account of a temporary diſorder, (which I truſt ours only is) adopt ſo deſperate, violent and corroſive a remedy, which undermining the frame, would cure its ills only by effecting its utter deſtruction; but ſee how is it likely to pacify Ireland—is it by drawing out of the country men of the firſt rank and eſtimation in the kingdom; who poſſeſs cultivated taſtes, elegant and claſſical refinements—in ſhort have the manners to poliſh, the diſpoſition to civilize, and the heart to ameliorate the condition of the people, and are certainly moſt intereſted in the peace, civilization, and proſperity of it.

Man is an imitative animal, the virtues as well as vices are contageous; withdraw theſe models and there is nothing left to influence by example, or deter by ſhame. It has been ſaid, Engliſh property will be then induced to come and ſettle here and introduce manufactures; did it ſo? when proviſions and labour were much cheaper than

at

at preſent, and the country more tranquil. But it may be demanded, what proportionate return do we make England for all the advantages we derive from her aſſiſtance and protection. I ſay, in reply, we afforded protection to her, perhaps, *at the time*, with more friendſhip than policy. We lent her our troops, and paid them to carry on a war againſt a country, in which we were by no means concerned. We followed her fortune, without partaking in her deliberations, fought her battles without ſharing the honours of her victories, or deriving any advantages from the ſplendour of her conqueſts.

I wiſh for the cloſeſt connection, ſtricteſt amity, moſt perfect community, and identity of intereſt, between the ſiſter kingdoms; And with reſpect to *foreign powers* and *treaties*, they ſhould always act as one State, but to ſacrifice our domeſtic to an imperial Parliament, I will ſay, in the words of a great ſtateſman, " is neither the price I would give, nor think I would purchaſe."

I think an Union would endanger the liberty of England as well as Ireland, if

united.

united. Our Repreſentatives would be a venal body, having diſregarded the independence of their own Conſtitution, they would beſtow little ſolicitude on the concerns of either, their own, or any other nation, and would, (to indemnify themſelves for the expences which a London reſidence and neglect of private affairs would require) become the uniform appendage (as is the caſe of Scotland) of every Miniſter, and by ſuch increaſe of influence deſtroy the equipoiſe of the Conſtitution, and probably make Ireland a complete Catholic country, loſing the preſence of her principal nobility and Proteſtant gentry, whoſe children would conſtantly receive Engliſh educations, and prejudices, which claſſes of inhabitants with the number of their relations and expectants whom they would attract, beſides the phalanx which the vortex of a court always abſorbs, would on the one hand, ſo much diminiſh the Proteſtant inhabitants, as to leave to the Catholic an uncontrouled and uncountroulable ſuperiority. The circumſtance of diverſity of religious perſuaſions exiſting between ſiſter countries muſt excite jealouſies—much eſtrange and alienate their affections, inſtead

of

of cementing, tend to their ſeparation, and ultimately prove deſtructive to both. Bodies linked together by ſo unnatural a bond of Union as mutual diſtruſt and hatred, muſt eventually be divorced, or exiſt together, to their mutual hatred and deſtruction.

Although the Author of the following pages muſt in common with every inhabitant of this metropolis lament the melancholy alteration this city muſt undergo from the removal of her Legiſlature; yet as a good citizen he would chearfully and ſpeedily forget the humiliating circumſtance, were he *fully aſcertained* it muſt ſerve the *general* intereſt of the kingdom, (truſts however he has ſhewn the reverſe, and that the principle itſelf is not receivable) he would diveſt himſelf of every partial conſideration and local regard, which in ſuch a caſe ought no more to be regarded, compared with the aggregated public weal, than the wafted duſt in the balance, eaſily diſſipated without weight, without conſideration. However much every country muſt ſuffer from the *ſudden* and *unexpected* alteration of the ſeat of Government, particularly to another country,

country, and it may fairly be compared to the heart in the human frame, which at once animates and vivifies the whole kingdom, circulates blood and vital warmth from centre to circumference, and is, in fact, the mirror in which the proſperity of the reſt of the country is reflected with its departure, the fine arts, all the elegant and cultivated purſuits which adorn, improve and embelliſh life, fade and droop away.

Occidit, occidit, Spes omnis, et fortuna noſtri nominis.

Some perſons imagine, and argue, as if a conſolidation of the Legiſlatures would correct the vices and cure the corruption of Parliament, and abſolutely reaſon as if the purity of the Iriſh repreſentatives would increaſe, when removed from their conſtituents, and as if croſſing George's channel could waſh away all political depravity, and even render the objects of their former condemnation (for ſurely many of the members of the preſent Parliament could be again choſen) men of pure and immaculate integrity, as if they conſidered the Britiſh Senate the choſen ſpot, the conſecrated temple of genuine and unſullied freedom, and that of Ireland no better than the Augean

ſtable, which no time or labour could cleanſe of its filth and free from its impurities. But; my friends and countrymen, you have too much underſtanding to be deluded by ſuch monſtrous and abſurd poſitions, which have ſuch little foundation, either in fact or in a knowledge of human nature. You know the reverſe too well. The Britiſh mace is equally liable as the Iriſh to be warped by the powerful and inſinuating touch of corruption. Should the accuſation be true, and well founded, ſurely commiſſioners appointed from ſo rank and vitiated a body, would be moſt unfit to tranſact ſuch very momentous concerns, as negociating for you. The argument would go againſt entertaining or receiving the principle of Union *at all*.

Suppoſing, for a moment, the principle of an incorporate Union admiſſible, ſurely poiſed as we are at preſent, between diſtraction and repoſe, we ſhould not venture to agitate *this* or *any other* ſubject of political magnitude, and the public mind after the great exertion it has made, might reaſonably expect ſome relaxation. How frantic and how culpable is it now deemed in England

land to encourage the diſcuſſion of any topic, which may in the remoteſt degree revive political controverſy—how much more ſo in Ireland, when the Miniſter, in the ſpeech from the Throne, at the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion, has told you, the ſpirit of rebellion is only checked and cruſhed, but by no means extinguiſhed, in Ireland. Follow then the wiſe example of your ſiſter country, avoid all political diſcuſſions, *unleſs either obtruded on your conſideration, or of ſuch a momentous nature*, as to involve in its conſequences every thing dear to you and your poſterity.

Attollens humeris famamque ſaraque nepotum.

While I write, I tremble for the fate and character of my country. I hope to ſee it emerge from barbarity and obſcurity, and *if independent*, truſt it may at ſome future day, obtain *its merited* rank and name amongſt the nations of the earth. Could I be the humble inſtrument of rouſing my countrymen from their apathy, and raiſing in them a dignified and honourable pride, my utmoſt ambition would be gratified. You ſtand in a great and reſponſible ſituation—therefore let the Iriſh Harp aſſume a firm and manly tone. By a declaration of the general will *alone*, can the

baneful measure be counteracted, before it is *too late*. I shall, I hope, soon bring you to the test. However, before I conclude, I should wish to offer a few words of advice to a certain description of persons in this country, whose interposition may have considerable effect in preventing this blasted project from ever being brought forward: I allude to the borough holders of Ireland, whom I should beg leave to address, as a friend anxious for the protection of their property, and solicitous for the preservation of their fame. Should an Union be adopted, it is generally understood the counties alone will return representatives to the imperial Parliament. In which case, although possibly some sordid and paltry compensation may be intended, for the loss they will sustain, by the privation of Parliamentary property (for such I must call it in every sense of the word—nor need they blush for a possession which often preserved the House of Commons from the obloquy of being *indoctum Parliamentum*) which perhaps might have, in course of revolving time, occasionally been affixed to it, had not an English borough returned to Parliament a CHATHAM, in the splendour of his glory, and an Irish one a GRATTAN in the meridian of his.

I say

I say then, as anxious for the protection of your property, what equivalent can you get for the weight and influence you now poſſeſs in the country, independent of the opportunities you have of promoting national advantage, your country's felicity; or even what compenſation I aſk you, could you obtain, commenſurate to the heartfelt gratification you muſt experience in providing for ſome boſom friend; ſome dear dependant relation, who looks up to you as his friend and ſupporter, the ſource of his comfort, the very ſeat of his ſoul. Beſides the pride you muſt feel in having a moſt manifeſt and deciſive controul over miſmanagement and miſconduct. Since then, I ſay, Government can give no compenſation for the ſacrifice you muſt make of intereſt, character and fortune, ſee how the matter muſt ſtand. You are either paid for your boroughs, or you are not; if paid, the premium, I ſay, muſt be unequal to the value, beſides bad, in another reſpect, operating as an unpopular act, impoſing needleſſarily new burdens on the people, which you muſt eventually feel as injuring the value of property in general, and ſubjecting you to additional taxation, "*So that it nought enriches*

you,

you, but makes them poor indeed." If you are not paid, you will be laughed at as credulous and clumsy fools selling your birthright, without even a mess of pottage. And seriously do you imagine it within the sphere of your power, to make such a practical and *eternal* surrender, and that you can really reckon on those adherents whom you have introduced into Parliament as likely to support you in such a transfer of Legislative independence, however bound they may consider themselves to you on *every other occasion, and every other question*, by every tye of gratitude and obligation; (yet when the independence of their country is rudely assailed, and its very existence is at stake, and the unhappy alternative presents itself, whether they will make a sacrifice of *public* or *private* faith.) I am fully convinced, I say, (whenever such a question will arise) they must consider themselves much less culpable in breaking private friendship and violating social feeling, than in relinquishing *for ever*, the rights and liberties of their country; and although your adherents will undoubtedly feel themselves reduced to a most trying and mortifying dilemma, by the discussion of such a proposition, and will probably groan under the

the weight of obligation as Atlas did under that of the Heavens, (feeling their gratitude for former countenance and protection ſtill entwined and interwoven with the very frame and texture of their heart) yet *ultimately* a conſideration for public regard will be preferred, and the aggregated weal prevail over the deareſt private affections.

How will borough-holders then appear? in what a contemptible light will they be ſhewn, deſerted by their followers, and deſpiſed by adminiſtration with whom they will not be conſidered as having acted candidly or have kept their word and promiſe of ſupport, bringing diſappointment and defeat on them, diſcredit and diſgrace on themſelves.

But Government probably will tell you, an Union will heal your diſſentions, and put a period to your calamities. I ſay, ſurely it will not. Neither has Parliament cauſed the one, nor has the nature of our preſent connexion with Great Britain, excited the other. On the contrary, a domeſtic and internal Legiſlature, has prevented a fruitful and conſtant ſource of diſcontent that muſt have ariſen,

ariſen, from the preſſure of new taxes, and the latter removed a perpetual foundation of jealouſy and diviſion, by keeping us more cordially connected, than otherwiſe we would be, ſmarting and ulcerated under a ſenſe of injured rights and violated freedom.

Rouſe then, my friends and brother freeholders from your apathy and inaction, as you value your preſent reputation and future fame, uſe every *conſtitutional* exertion, with one voice declare and proteſt againſt a meaſure baneful in its principle, and deſtructive in its conſequences. A general declaration of your will, will be the means of its prevention, will operate as an antidote that will meet this baneful poiſon in every limb and artery of the Conſtitution, conquer and expel the project *for ever*.

A FREEHOLDER.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 1, *laſt line*—dele *ſeon.*

6, *third line from bottom*—for *think*, read *thing*,

9, *ſix from bottom*—for *could*, read *would.*

A

LETTER

TO THE

PEOPLE OF *IRELAND*,

WHICH

THEY ALL CAN UNDERSTAND,

AND

OUGHT TO READ.

BY A REAL FRIEND.

DUBLIN

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, No. 32, CRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

A LETTER TO THE *PEOPLE* OF *IRELAND.*

My Friends,

OF late years, ſo little have you been uſed to truth, that it was not, 'till after much reflection, I determined on addreſſing you. You have been ſo accuſtomed to falſe views of Liberty, to libels on the Conſtitution, and complaints againſt the Government, under which you live, that I naturally

doubted of a favorable reception. I intended neither to flatter you by hopes, which never can be realized, nor to gratify you by cenſures, which never have been merited, and conſequently could not expect to make an impreſſion upon your minds. But if ever a people had reaſon to be undeceived, to ſee and to repent their folly and their crimes, you of Ireland, my Friends, are that people. You have been terribly miſled by bad adviſers, you have been plunged into the deepeſt calamities, a Country can ſuſtain; and now whilſt your wounds are ſtill freſh, whilſt you are ſmarting from your ſores, is the moment to ſtep in with ſalutary counſel, and if poſſible, to reſtore you to "your old good manners, your old good humor, and your old good nature." For one, I am perſuaded, that even were every ſenſe of Religion and of Law excluded from your breaſts, your misfortunes muſt convince you of the miſchief and the madneſs of your

your conduct. The greater part of your leaders are either hanged or tranſported, and have loaded their families with affliction and diſgrace. Many of them, who might have been or were ornaments to the profeſſions they were in, now languiſh away their lives in melancholy confinement, their friends and relations lamenting their profligacy, and complaining of the infamy, which attaches on their names. Thouſands of your companions have periſhed at the gallows or in the field, and have left their wives and children, outcaſts upon the world, dependant alone upon the charity of the rich, whoſe lives and properties, they had conſpired to deſtroy. Inſtead of living to maintain the partners and the offspring of their beds by honeſt induſtry, they have ſent them, widows and orphans as they are, to beg, from door to door, their daily morſel, and are accountable to the Almighty Judge for every tear *they* ſhed, for every night *they* lie down

cold and hungry. Such of you, the survivors, who were active in the rebellion, are not much better off. If you had houses, they are burnt, if stock, it is destroyed, if corn, consumed, if leases, they are forfeited, and if money, it is spent. By your open treason and your cowardly plans of assassination, you have made enemies of the brave and loyal; and even the timid and undecided, who waited, 'till some important blow was struck, like rats have left the sinking ship, and are now among the most forward to prosecute and condemn you. To compleat the catalogue, your allies, the French, after some paltry efforts to invade us, have entirely abandoned you to your fate, and are now themselves in such a situation, that were their armies twice as numerous, they have more than sufficient employment for them at home. Indeed, when they were here, they afforded you a specimen, which you never should forget, of what you

you might expect, had they performed their engagements and ſent to your *aſſiſtance* a conſiderable force. The wretched peaſantry, that joined them, ſome from terror and many from inclination, were treated with more cruelty, than the beaſts of burden, expoſed to every hardſhip, denied almoſt every neceſſary of life, and for the ſlighteſt awkwardneſs, murmur or diſobedience, puniſhed, without even the mockery of a trial, by inſtantaneous death. In ſhort, my Friends, whether you look to the ſufferings of the preſent or the paſt, you have abundant reaſon to regret the day, that you forſook your allegiance to your King, and entered into a deſperate conſpiracy; a conſpiracy which had it been ſucceſsful, ſo far from bettering your condition, would have made you infinitely worſe, than the very pooreſt could pretend to be, before they ſent their ploughs to be converted into pikes,

and

and neglected their farms to attend on their Committees.

It is not without a motive, evidently, that I have preſented this picture to your view. My object is to excite you to a ſerious meditation on the conſequences of your late diſorders. Were you convinced, they could confer no benefit upon you, but muſt be productive of infinite misfortunes, you would probably avoid a repetition of them, for the future. If you had time and opportunity to read the hiſtory of your country, it would be unneceſſary for me to remark, that ſimilar attempts have invariably been attended by ſimilar ſucceſs. In the laſt century, (to go no farther back) there were maſſacres and rebellions, to which the ignorant and wicked multitude were prompted by the ambitious, the turbulent, and diſaffected. But they all terminated alike in the defeat and diſappointment of the people

ple and in the triumph and confirmation of the Government. The loſſes of the loyal were comparatively ſmall to thoſe of the rebellious. In the end, the former were rewarded and encouraged for the cauſe, in which they ſuffered; the latter were devoted to the vengeance of the violated laws, and juſtly left to ſtruggle with the difficulties they had brought upon themſelves. Such has been and ever will be the fate of treaſon in a Country, that is bleſſed with the Britiſh Conſtitution, where there is equal protection to the liberty and property of every individual, be he rich or poor. To the goodneſs of that Conſtitution, are we indebted for its victory over thoſe, who had endeavoured to undermine it. When there are juſt grounds for complaint, a *party* may be formidable to thoſe, with whom the power of the State is lodged, unleſs managed with diſcretion and ſatisfied in reaſon. But when there are no real grievances, when

a *faction*

a *faction* riſes up, whoſe only object is to turn out from their places one ſet of men, and to bring in another, then are they ſure to be baffled in the deſign, and their wretched inſtruments, the people, are deſerted, the dupes of their folly and the victims of their crimes. Apply theſe obſervations to France and Ireland, and you muſt perceive their truth. In the one the people were enſlaved and oppreſſed; the beſt part of the community eſpouſed their cauſe, and they were ſucceſsful in the deſtruction of a tyrannical Government*. In the other, the

* The writer cannot be ſuppoſed by this to juſtify the progreſs of the French Revolution. It has been marked by ſuch horrid violations of every thing, we hold ſacred and valuable in life, that no one can look back on it, without ſhuddering at the review—It affords a moſt important leſſon to the people of all countries to be cautious, how they engage in political conteſts. At this moment there is leſs real liberty in France, than in any country of Europe. The peaſantry of that ill-fated land may ſay with a ſigh, "Better to bear the ills we have, than fly to others, that we know not of."

people

people were free and happy; they enjoyed every political bleſſing, which it is practicable to poſſeſs in civilized ſociety, and yet they wantonly made war upon their Government. With the exception of a very few, the honeſt and the honorable ſupported the Government; and the people met with that puniſhment their ingratitude and obſtinacy deſerved. Experience is a better guide than hiſtory; it teaches more directly and more eaſily. The proof of what I ſaid above is at your doors. The example is living before your eyes, is, as it were, ſpeaking to you every hour, cautioning you againſt the artifices of an angry and unforgiving faction; and yet it is rumoured, that many expect and more intend to rouſe you into tumult once again, upon the queſtion of the Union. After all which has already taken place, I can hardly think it poſſible.—But it is more eaſy to prevent than to cure a diſorder; and to deprive you of every pretext for inſurrec-

tion, which ignorance or miſconception might ſupply, I recommend to your peruſal the ſentiments of one, who, from his heart, is anxious for your proſperity and peace.

Amongſt the various pamphlets and ſpeeches, which have been publiſhed on the occaſion, few are adapted to your capacities, few have a tendency to make you wiſer, better or happier ſubjects. Without diſtracting you by arguments or calculations, which you could not comprehend, I take it upon me to aſſert and prove, that an Union with Great Britain will not only be highly conducive to your intereſts, but is indiſpenſably neceſſary to your welfare. And for theſe ſimple reaſons; that it will be an eternal and effectual bar againſt rebellion; that it will ſave you from the ſeductions of foreign incendiaries and domeſtic traitors, who have for centuries been thwarting your proſperity,

proſperity, and that it will enable you to cultivate and improve the natural advantages, with which Providence has bleſſed you in ſo eminent and bountiful a degree. It is a fact which cannot be contradicted, that within the laſt twenty years, the comforts of the lower claſſes had rapidly increaſed. Notwithſtanding, the ever reſtleſs faction I alluded to, indifferent about the conſequences to you, and only thinking upon their own projects of ambition, determined to convert you from a happy and contented peaſantry, into diſſatisfied and unfortunate politicians. Profiting by the French revolution, which had excited ſuch a ferment in the public mind, you were addreſſed as Catholics, and called upon to *emancipate*. A fine word has often been found uſeful to impoſe upon the ignorant and fooliſh. With no other purpoſe was this lofty term introduced, and unluckily for you, it anſwered but too well the expec-

tations of its parent. The meaning of emancipate, is to give liberty to ſlaves. It were an inſult on your common ſenſe to undertake to prove, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland are not ſlaves, and nothing but a bad heart and a perverted underſtanding could have inſinuated ſo notorious an untruth. The only foundation for it is, that they are excluded from Parliament and moſt of the great offices of ſtate, circumſtances which inflict no mighty hardſhip upon you. But ſtill, ſo long as this pretended grievance ſhall continue, the factious and the turbulent will employ it to detach you from your peaceful occupations, and by fine words and inflammatory ſpeeches, involve you in the dangers and diſtreſſes you ſo lately were engaged in, and yet feel the ſmart of. Accept then the offered Union with Great Britain, and the flimſy pretence vaniſhes for ever. If your conduct ſhall juſtify the meaſure and circumſtances ſhall render it expedient,

you

you may then look to being admitted to a full participation of the honors of the ſtate, you may then indulge the hope of being placed on a perfect footing of equality with your Proteſtant brethren, and the licentious democrats of the day will loſe that fatal engine which has ſent ſo many of you to untimely graves, and doomed ſo many more to poverty and ſhame. You will naturally enquire, why if ſo little could ſave you from the deſigns of traitors, and ſecure to the country permanent tranquillity, that little is not granted, without the addition of an Union. With you the queſtion is reaſonable, and entitled to an anſwer. From your ſituation, as an iſland, you muſt, in a great meaſure, ſubſiſt by commerce; but having neither wood nor iron, indeed wanting almoſt every thing for the equipment of a fleet, but men, you muſt depend on the aſſiſtance and protection of ſome more rich and powerful neighbour. Your relative poſition on the ſeas has pointed out Great Britain as that

neighbour,

neighbour, and ſo great is her power, and her wealth, that her friendſhip is as neceſſary to you, as her enmity would be fatal. Her King, her Parliament, her entire eſtabliſhment is Proteſtant, and without endangering the connection, yours cannot but be the ſame. Were you permitted to make and to adminiſter the laws, ſo numerous is your body, that ere long, the Houſes of Parliament and the Seats of Juſtice would be completely in your hands. Every man has a preference for his own religion, and you would then naturally ally yourſelves with Catholics on the Continent. What would be the conſequence? Your country would become the theatre of war. After a ſtruggle, in which your choiceſt blood and treaſure would be ſpent, Great Britain, who commands the ocean, would again ſubdue you, and with a view to your mutual advantage, would repeat the ſeverities, which, at the concluſion of the laſt century, your conduct had provoked. Liſten then to the language

ſhe

ſhe now holds, and the propoſal ſhe preſents to you. We are ſiſters by nature. Separation would be death to one and injury to the other. You have imprudently ſolicited a boon, which, if granted, would diſſolve our connection. We are the elder ſiſter, we have more experience, and more property at ſtake than you. We, therefore, firmly have reſiſted your requeſt. But anxious to ſilence your complaints, and reconcile all differences, we propoſe to draw you ſtill cloſer to ourſelves, and by identifying, by uniting our intereſts, to prevent the poſſibility of murmur for the future. Our Parliament, our purſe, our trade, our liberty and laws ſhall be one, without danger to us, and with benefit to you. The hopes of the unprincipled and factious crew, who have been leading you to ruin, ſhall be for ever blaſted, you ſhall purſue your trades and cultivate your lands in peace, and no longer be the melancholy tools of every pretended patriot, entailing

entailing misery upon yourselves, and beggary upon your children.

This, my Friends, is the point of view in which your real interests are most plainly and materially concerned. Be assured, there is but one thing wanted to make you a virtuous, a rich, and respectable people, and that is, to be taken out of the hands of traitors. An Union can alone establish this, and therefore should have the prayers of every wise and honest man in the community for its success. Reject it, and Ireland must continue to be poor, and miserable, and profligate; embrace it, and she becomes wealthy, happy and religious. Believe me, notwithstanding their professions of regard, they are your lasting enemies who have advised you to oppose it.

You have heard a great deal about the loss of your Parliament, and uncommon indus-

try

try has been uſed to perſuade you, that the removal of it from Dublin to London will be injurious to your intereſts. But they who have endeavoured the moſt anxiouſly to impreſs you with this idea, were influenced by ſelfiſh motives, and by no tenderneſs for you. To thoſe, who look upon a ſeat in that aſſembly as ſo much property in trade, and like prudent ſhopkeepers begin by extolling the value of their goods, that they may diſpoſe of them more profitably to the purchaſers; to thoſe, I acknowledge, it will be a ſerious diſadvantage. So ſenſibly do they feel it, that much as they have laboured for Parliamentary reform, and knowing, that it may be the probable if not the certain conſequence of Union, yet do they reject it now; and though the abolition of boroughs, which you have been but too well taught to think a moſt deſirable event, were to be expreſsly covenanted, yet would they diſregard the offer, forgetful of

 their

their former pledges, and of your recent ſufferings in the cauſe. The reaſon is obvious. They would be deprived of a market for their abilities at home, which has been moſt ruinous to you, although to many of them but too productive. They would no longer have an opportunity of diſplaying their talents at the riſk of your tranquillity, nor of obtaining your confidence, that they might afterwards betray it, and ſmile at your ſimplicity. But if you would employ the natural guardians of your rights, if you deſire in Repreſentatives independence of fortune, integrity of principle, and the pride of birth, which, depend on it, is no bad ſecurity againſt corruption, if ſuch you would entruſt, you will be ſure to find them in an united Parliament. The expences attendant upon travel, and occaſional reſidence in England, will determine this, and to you it muſt be a matter of complete indifference, whether my Lord

this

this or Mr. that is one or ſix days on the road, aſſured that an attachment to your intereſts accompanies him throughout, and that he has no temptation to ſacrifice them to a bribe.

But it is ſaid, allowing this to be true, it can have no weight, for that the voices of the Iriſh Members would be ineffectually oppoſed to the wiſhes of the Britiſh Parliament. If it be meant to tell you, that five hundred can out-vote one hundred, you may thank them for the information, though you were as wiſe as they. But they artfully conceal what it concerns you to know, and you may be ignorant of, that were your countries once united, the Britiſh majority never would injure you, and for this ſimple reaſon, that they could not do ſo without injuring themſelves. Your intereſts would be one and the ſame. Your riches would be her profit; your poverty, her loſs. If ſhe proſ-

pered, ſo muſt you, if ſhe declined, your fall would be common. Were a richer neighbour to propoſe a partnerſhip of farms and ſtock to one of you, who wanted encouragement and aſſiſtance, would you not be grateful for the offer, and with eagerneſs accept it? If at the concluſion of the year your profits and your loſſes were to be divided in proportion to your original ſhares, could any ingenuity convince you, that it was the intereſt of the richer to diſcourage your proſperity, and thus by jealouſy to diminiſh the total of your gains? No; he for his own ſake would do every thing to promote your welfare. It might be wiſe in you at any rate to join your wants to his wealth; but in him, it were the exceſs of folly to admit you as a partner, unleſs it was his intention to relieve your difficulties. What madneſs would it be then to add to your neceſſities, and make you ſtill more wretched than he found you! The caſe is ſo clear and

applicable,

applicable, it needs not to be more closely put. An addition to your taxes is the bug-bear which is held out to terrify you from an Union with Great Britain. The object of the Minister is said to be to derive from this country a more ample revenue than it has hitherto afforded. Let me then ask you, in the name of common sense, how can your taxes be increased, unless your means are with them? No man will require impossibilities from you, and if you are to contribute much more to the Government, that Government must manifestly enable you to do so. Did you understand the principle of taxation, your minds would be perfectly at ease upon the subject. Attend then to what I shall say, and reflect upon it. No poor country ever can be taxed highly, because it possesses not the ability of payment. No article can be taxed which is not generally used, because it would be unproductive, would probably not discharge the expences

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of collection. It follows then, that taxation is the fruit of riches, is at once the proof and the conſequence of wealth. Accordingly within a few years, yours has been moderately increaſed, becauſe your condition was gradually improving. I remember, when the addition to that on leather was propoſed, your patriots, as they were called, affected to lament the hardſhip on the poor. When, in reality, you muſt perceive, they were lamenting, that ſo many of you had been able to buy ſhoes; for had not that comfort become general, the tax could never have been raiſed. For want of explanation, you have been repeatedly miſguided, and in this inſtance, thoſe boaſted lovers of humanity had the folly and the cruelty to deplore, that the poor people of Ireland did not continue to go barefoot. When therefore, you are informed, that an Union will increaſe your taxes, it is but in other words to ſay, that it

will

will increaſe your comforts, that it will deliver you from wretched hovels, ragged clothes, bad food and high rents, that it will introduce cleanlineſs, ſobriety, induſtry and morality, that it will make you an honor to yourſelves and a bleſſing to your country.

That ſuch will be the conſequences of an Union with Great Britain, no one of impartiality can doubt. They muſt neceſſarily flow from the intimacy, which will ſubſiſt between us, from the introduction of Engliſh capital and Engliſh ingenuity, from the intereſt ſhe muſt feel in our proſperity, and her exertions to advance it. But this has been contradicted, and the ſupporters of the meaſure have been defied to prove, that it would induce the ſettlement of Engliſhmen, who have not ſhewn a diſpoſition to eſtabliſh themſelves in Ireland. The anſwer is painful and degrading, but clear and concluſive.

concluſive. Such has been the condition, to which this Country has reduced herſelf by her internal feuds, that while many have been driven from their native land, to ſeek tranquillity and civilization on a diſtant ſhore, none have been ſo mad as to expoſe their lives and property to the more than probability of maſſacre and plunder here. The melancholy ſucceſſion of Hearts of Oak, Right-boys, White-boys, Defenders and United Iriſhmen, explain but too fully the reaſon of that abhorrence, with which you have been avoided. What man in his ſenſes would embark a capital in a kingdom, where he had not the ſecurity of a day's enjoyment of it, where the induſtry of a laborious and ſucceſsful life might be ſacrificed in a moment, to the wantonneſs of the rioter or the ravages of the robber? You are yourſelves the cauſes of your ſhame, and it reſts with you to remove it. Shew the ſeditious traitors, who have ſo

long

long been forcing you to be the curſe and the diſgrace of Ireland, that you perceive the infamy of their deſigns, and are reſolved to counteract them; that you bluſh at the recollection of your crimes, and are determined to atone for them; that you weep over the contemplation of your miſeries, and will endeavour to allay them by an Union with Great Britain. Let the Engliſh manufacturer and farmer be but ſatisfied, that the artifices of the factious to ſeduce you from your duty will be vain, and they will bring to you that capital and thoſe arts, which alone you want to be a rich and proſperous people. Every natural advantage which a country can poſſeſs, is yours. Your ſoil is fertile, your climate favourable, your ſituation on the Globe for commerce, not to be ſurpaſſed. When united with Great Britain, thoſe bleſſings, which have been ſo long a time neglected, will be gratefully improved. Thoſe tracts

of land, which now are unprofitable and dreary waſtes will then be crowned with golden harveſts, and all the fruits of labour will be collected from your fields. Thoſe ſpacious and commodious harbours, which now are deſerted, or but thinly occupied, will then be filled with veſſels from every quarter of the world, and all the wealth of commerce will be diffuſed throughout the Kingdom. The circulation of Engliſh Capital and the advantages of Engliſh ingenuity muſt increaſe the value of our lands, and the price of *your* labour muſt of neceſſity, be in proportion raiſed. You will be enabled then to buy utenſils for your farms and to introduce ſuch improvements to your agriculture, as will enrich and beautify your grounds; you will poſſeſs the means to pay your rents with chearfulneſs, and to include all which can be ſaid on it in a few words, you will reſemble the Yeomanry of England. Comfort, contentment,

ment, tranquillity and virtue will then be as univerſal as poverty, diſſatisfaction, turbulence and vice now are; your injuries will be redreſſed, your offences will be pardoned, and your neceſſities relieved.

My purpoſe is to inſtruct, not to confuſe you, and therefore have I confined myſelf to ſuch views of the queſtion as are intereſting to your proſperity, and ſuited to your comprehenſion. You well know, my friends, the injury you have done your country by your late rebellion, and your repeated inſurrections. It is then particularly incumbent on you as a people to make every reparation in your power for the evils you have brought upon her, and on your own account as well as hers to prevent the renewal of ſuch horrid ſcenes, to the utmoſt of your ability. An opportunity will be ſoon open to you. Your repreſentatives are ſoon to be aſſembled in their legiſlative capacity, and doubtleſs will attend

attend to the opinions and wiſhes of their conſtituents. Let me, then, intreat you, as you regard the tranquillity of the kingdom, and your individual advantage, to addreſs them to ſupport the meaſure of an Union with Great Britain, when ever it ſhall be offered to them. You have ſhewn that you can be active in a bad cauſe, be as zealous in a good one. In your reſpective counties and cities, if reſolutions ſhall be propoſed in favour of it, come forward with a becoming ſenſe and ſpirit, and prove to the world your penitence and your loyalty, by the ſubſcription of your names. You owe it to yourſelves, to your children, to your country, to your King, and to your God. It is all which is now left to recover you from the ruins of the paſt, and ſo long as your ſhores ſhall be waſhed by the waters of the ſea, to ſecure to you the poſſeſſion of happineſs and riches, virtue and religion, liberty and laws. Could my name add weight to my advice, I

ſhould

ſhould be proud to ſign it—but no name could—I ſhall therefore content myſelf with aſſuring you that

I am

YOUR REAL FRIEND.

FINIS.